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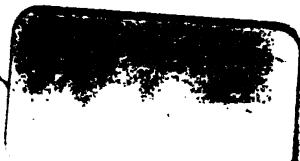
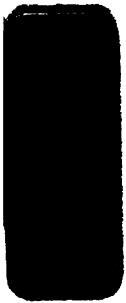
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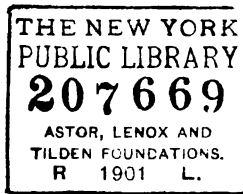
EGYPT AND THE HINTERLAND

BY
FREDERIC WALTER FULLER

*WITH A FRONTISPIECE AND A MAP OF EGYPT
AND THE SUDAN*

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
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PREFACE

THE present contribution to a subject which in many respects has been worn, if you will, but not battered, is not lightly given to the public, nor, in portions where historical compilation is out of question, until the author has had the opportunity of collating notes made during repeated visits to Egypt. The first of these was undertaken on a small scale in the year of the deposition of Ismail Pacha, as many a British tourist undertakes a far journey seeking relaxation and nothing more. Latterly these visits, decided on for other considerations, have been measured by the length of the whole winter.

Sir Alfred Milner's work "England in Egypt" remains, as it began, the standard work on the Egyptian question, and several others—such as Mr. A. Silva White's "Expansion of Egypt" and Mr. W. Spencer Churchill's "River War"—have brought down information on many points to last year. It has occurred to the author that it was possible to write a short and comprehensive work continued to the end of the tragic period

C. F. Evans
Op. 25/01 8/9

ceasing with the removal of Abdullah bin Muhammad, which, without following too closely previous lines, might serve the purpose of a book of reference, on some points at least, connected with the Egypt of to-day. Another object of the book, and one not marked by originality, has been to assist those who desire to work out for themselves the problem whether or how far the British occupation has justified itself by the measure of good conferred on the country and the people during the eighteen years of its existence, and whether the single control has been a success.

The late Sir Frederic Rogers (Lord Blachford) has been known to complain that he had no time to "write short," though it may be held in doubt whether some of the best of his official work was not done *currente calamo*. The author has no such excuse to advance generally in regard to time, but the process of whittling away may be carried too far, and the hour has arrived when this book, if it is fit to appear at all, should be placed in the hands of the publisher.

Some writers have thought it sufficient to produce at the beginning or end of their work a list of authors consulted. The plan has much to be said in its favour, but not without hesitation the present writer has thought it better to name

sparingly and generally in a footnote, such authorities as it seemed necessary or expedient to specify, particularly when historical works or Parliamentary papers are laid under contribution. This arrangement is not without its drawbacks, as it is impossible, without wearisome repetition, constantly to give authorities for statements made second-hand, but on the whole it is perhaps the lesser of two evils.

If "wearisome repetition" is looked for, it will probably be found in the references to the valuable Annual Reports of Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General in Cairo, without the aid of which no book on modern Egypt could possibly be written.

In one or two cases it may be allowable to anticipate the criticism of the press. It will be brought against the work that too great prominence has been given to the difficulties of the Native Christians. This may be so; but the author, who numbers not a few Copts among his friends, claims to have sifted and condensed to the best of his ability the little grievances of this community. These, whatever they may be, are not brought forward in an aggressive manner by those immediately concerned, and are certainly not noticed here with the intention of imputing

hard-heartedness on the part of those who are charged with the difficult task of directing the administration of the country. If it is asked why the question of Cyprus has been introduced, the reply is that it was originally intended to be, and perhaps still is if properly viewed, a part of the greater question of the Near East. The writer's experience has not been that attributed to the Member for the Forest of Dean in the report of an address delivered by him in 1897. The statement, if really made, that no military man advocates the retention of the Island appears to go rather beyond the facts of the case. The fault, if any, has been that the original intentions were not carried out.

Any one who cares may hear, as the author has heard, a lament expressed in Egypt which is not merely applicable to the mercantile community. Nothing was done, or could be done, to make Cyprus a sanitary resort for those who are not able to leave Egypt for a long time together. In the uncertain circumstances of tenure, both capital and enterprise have been wanting. The idea of using Cyprus as a military sanatorium for British troops is as old as the time of the Arabist rebellion. The camp on Troodos at an elevation of some 6000 feet was successfully used as a

sanatorium by some of the troops who suffered during the Sudan campaign, and it remains to be considered whether a permanent sanatorium might not be established somewhere in the Troodos range. There "a cool temperature might be obtained in summer and a warm and bright sun on the crisp snow in winter." This question has been raised in the present High Commissioner's Report for the financial year ending the 31st of March 1899.

An American and not unfriendly critic¹ has taken the pains to collect the declarations which have been made in regard to our retirement from Egypt. Since the date of these declarations, the recovery of the derelict Sudan—a necessity for Egypt—at once placed under the joint protection of Her Majesty the Queen and His Highness the Khedive, has profoundly altered the situation. This opinion, as we all know, was expressed by Lord Salisbury in a speech at the Guildhall in November 1898. It is difficult to imagine a Sudan partly governed by Her Majesty without an Egyptian base. This does not mean that, in view of possible foreign complications, resort should necessarily be had to such a drastic measure as the proclamation of a Protectorate.

¹ See Penfield's "Present Day Egypt," 1899.

The opportunity was lost in 1882; yet our consolation may be that if England has blundered in the Egyptian question France and Turkey have blundered more. The thoughtless cry which was raised in 1898 in the direction of the immediate declaration of a Protectorate has, it is hoped, died down. International fetters which cost Egypt £1,750,000 a year, galling though they may be, must be borne at least for some time to come, but not for an indefinite period. To the liberal policy adopted of late years by the Commissioners of the *Caisse de la Dette* is probably due the fact that the fetters have not already snapped of their own tension.

If some plain words have been written about the dealings of France with us since the occupation, the French reader—should this work fall into French hands—will please accept the assurance that such words have emanated in no unfriendly spirit from one who loves France (the true France) next to his own country, and whose acquaintance with it is not that of yesterday.

It is hoped that nothing has been said which will give pain to the vast majority of Egyptians who profess the Muhammadan faith, among whom friendships have been formed by the author which will not readily be forgotten. It

is provided in the sacred law that those who are in possession of sacred books (Christians and Jews), being tax-payers, are entitled to protection. In rough times it was perhaps impossible for the wild Arabs in their dealings with the Christians of the soil to bear in mind this teaching. Even now many an uneducated Muslim underrates the duty which he owes to a Christian, and is unable to distinguish a Christian from a pagan. We may hope that with the spread of education—a slow process in the East—this ignorance will disappear. On the other hand, no one will maintain that religious prejudices among the masses are one-sided. Far from it.

It may be noticed how small a portion of this book has been devoted to education, a subject not least in importance where the improvement of a native race is concerned. A whole chapter would have been insufficient to deal adequately with such a question. The brief sketch contained in Chapter III. is intended to be nothing more than a glance at the salient features of a large subject. Those who desire information in regard to the Educational Institutions of Egypt, brought down to the end of 1898, are referred to Mr. Silva White's "Expansion of Egypt."

As in previous works on Egypt the “£” is to be regarded as sterling. When the Egyptian “£” (£1, os. 6d.) is meant it is designated as “£E.”

To those friends, old and new, whether military or civilian, Christian or Muhammadan, legal or lay, who have kindly afforded information and tendered suggestions the writer's warmest thanks are due, but for any opinions that may be expressed in the book the author alone is responsible.

If any surprise is felt that in a work respecting Egypt direct references to the present Khedive are conspicuous by their absence, this fact will, it is hoped, not be attributed to any want of respect to H. H. Abbas Hilmi, but to an entirely different feeling. Nothing could be added by the author from personal knowledge to what has been said by previous writers.

It was hoped that this book, which was completed before the end of the nineteenth century, would have been in the hands of the public before the beginning of 1901, but, partly owing to the delay necessitated by the correction of proofs nearly a thousand miles from London, it has not been found possible to produce the work at an earlier date.

CANNES, *December* 1900.

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EGYPT AND THE HINTERLAND

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Cyprus—The evolution of Tunis—The mote and the
beam—Bizerta.

It may be convenient, before touching upon the subject-matter of these pages, to remind the reader of the marked changes which have taken place in the Eastern Mediterranean and on its shores in the last twenty-two years, as well as of the events which preceded the action of Her Majesty's Government in 1882.

We must go back to 1878, the date of the Berlin Congress, and to what took place during that year in the form of the Constantinople Convention of the 4th of June. By this it was agreed that . . . if any attempt should be made at any future time by Russia to take possession of

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any further territories of the Sultan in Asia, as fixed by the definitive Treaty of Peace, England would join his Imperial Majesty in defending them by force of arms. In return the Sultan undertook to introduce necessary reforms, to be arranged later on, between the Contracting Powers . . . for the protection of the Christian and other subjects of the Porte in certain territories; and, in order to enable Great Britain to make necessary provision for executing her engagements, his Imperial Majesty further consented to assign the island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by that power. A subsequent Annex of the 1st of July provided, among other things, that, if Russia restored to Turkey Kars and the other conquests made by her in Armenia during the previous war, Cyprus would be evacuated, and the operation of the Convention of the 4th of June would cease.

Great things were expected of Cyprus; the island was to be a *place d'armes* and, above all, a great naval station. The administration was inaugurated on a wasteful scale, and it was not until the mission of the late Mr. Edward Field of the Colonial Office in 1881 that anything like an intelligible balance was struck between revenue and expenditure.

Two years after the date of the Convention the Government in England had changed, and none of the expectations formed of Cyprus were realised. The new Government acknowledged tacitly the obligations incurred by its predecessor as regards the better administration of the island which could not be put aside, and these, however grudgingly, had to be fulfilled. If the island suffered, or did not realise the dreams of its more sanguine friends, this was merely an accident—an effect of party representation which, whatever may be its faults, remains perhaps the least objectionable form of government that progressive modern lights claim to have perfected. The Convention had been as severely censured at the time by her Majesty's Opposition in Parliament as the purchase of the Khedive's Canal shares three years previously, the last-named transaction being now generally admitted to have been one of the master-strokes of the Administration then in office.¹ Not long after the change of Government in this country, attention was drawn here and there to the fact that the very suspicion of a Protectorate should

¹ The shares were purchased in 1875 for £4,000,000. They are 176,602 in number. The market price very recently worked out at a value of £24,194,474, taking the mean of the quotations.

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have been avoided, the case of the Ionian Islands, ceded to Greece in 1863, being adduced as in point by one who was entitled to speak on the subject. Protection afforded no scope for loyalty, and offered no career to the native population. It was represented that in 1814 we desired to keep that group in absolute sovereignty, but that Lord Castlereagh was obliged to yield in consequence of the protests of the Tsar. Lord Bathurst, Minister for War and the Colonies, wrote at the time to Sir Thomas Maitland, the first Lord High Commissioner, deploring the necessity of giving way, and foreshadowing the difficulties which would ensue. Our first object should be, it was urged, to convert our tenure of Cyprus into sovereignty as it exists in Malta, the position which prevailed in the Ionian Islands having been mainly successful in fomenting national aspirations towards Greece.

The letter from which these remarks are taken was addressed to Lord Kimberley, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, on the 26th July 1880,¹ and concluded with the following words: "I repeat that nothing can be more certain than that if we do not make the people of Cyprus British

¹ "Thirty Years of Colonial Government." By the late Right Hon. Sir George F. Bowen, G.C.B.

subjects and teach them to regard Queen Victoria as their sovereign, they will look to Athens. . . . It cannot be supposed for a moment that the French in Canada and Mauritius would be now loyal to the British Crown if we had not made them British subjects." The new Government did not seem to have leisure for the consideration of such questions as this. The end and aim of the occupation was forgotten or ignored, and it would have been fortunate for Cyprus, which had so quickly sunk into the position of a party question, if it had been brought under the ægis of any other European Power, particularly as regards the development of its resources. It is useless now to ask whether the Armenians, in Asia Minor at least, would not have fared better if the necessary reforms had been forced upon the Porte immediately after the Convention. The opportunity, such as it was, was lost, and the interests of the Christians of the East were ignored as usual.

The writer's impression of the island, in the course of a visit a very few years ago, was that, if there had been security of tenure, capital would have readily made its way, stayed there, and multiplied, notwithstanding the activity of the Greek *intransigent* party, largely encouraged

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by one or two prominent ecclesiastics, which for a time would have continued to make good administration a matter of great difficulty. He is not aware whether, since the Turko-Grecian war of 1897, the yearnings towards Athens have continued in full force on the part of that portion of the community which furnished volunteers in aid of the liberation of Crete; but the seeds of disease were sown in the very terms on which Her Majesty's Government took over the administration of the island, the soil of which has remained Turkish and is not the property of the British Crown even to give away.

The difficulty had originally centred in the tribute for which, under the arrangement, Great Britain had become responsible. This was defined in the Annex to the Convention as the excess of revenue over expenditure; such excess to be calculated upon and determined by the average of the previous five years, exclusive of the produce of State and Crown lands. The latter charge was subsequently abandoned by the Porte from the 1st of April 1879 for a fixed annual payment of £5000. An officer of acknowledged ability, afterwards High Commissioner of Cyprus, was sent by Her Majesty's Government to Constantinople in that year charged with the duty of

fixing the exact equivalent in sterling of the surplus revenue. The sum due by this country was finally fixed at an amount exceeding £92,000 per annum, which it is understood was intended to include the £5000 before mentioned.

When the island was first occupied in 1878, the currency consisted of a small amount of gold—French and Turkish—some foreign silver, and a quantity of debased copper and nickel coins of little practical value, and the *caïmé* or Turkish paper-money originally issued at par. It has been contended by some Cypriots that the real excess of revenue over expenditure was not more than £50,000 per annum, the difference between *caïmé* and *métallique* being taken into account. At one time this contention seemed to be borne out by a telegram addressed by Sir Robert Bid-dulph to Lord Granville on the 23rd of March 1880 asking whether he might pay the surplus revenue for 1879–80 at the rate of exchange between *métallique* and pounds Turkish which prevailed on the 13th of that month, the day when the tribute fell due. This sum was estimated at about £48,000 sterling. The reply was to the effect that the figures given by the High Commissioner were not understood, but that he might pay in the manner he thought best. A little

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earlier Turkey had demonetised *métallique*, in which the tribute had been originally calculated, with the result that it had fallen nearly one-half in value. The Porte refused to accept the sum offered, and appealed directly through the Queen's Ambassador at Constantinople to Her Majesty's Government. In view of the expectation held out in Lord Salisbury's despatch to Sir Henry Layard of the 30th of May 1878, that the assignment of the occupation and administration of Cyprus would not diminish the receipts then passed into the Sultan's Treasury—believed to be over £80,000 per annum—it was ruled that Her Majesty's Government could not adhere to the tender made by the High Commissioner.

In 1882, however, before any payments had been made and while negotiations were still pending, Her Majesty's Government decided, for reasons which appeared to them amply sufficient, to impound the existing surplus in the Cyprus Treasury. The Porte was given to understand that this surplus, as well as the annual tribute as calculated by ourselves, would be diverted and paid, not into the Treasury at Stamboul, but into the Bank of England for the satisfaction of those bondholders whose claims arose under the repudiated loan of 1855. It will be remembered that

the interest of this loan had been jointly guaranteed by Great Britain and France. The diversion of the tribute did not, of course, affect the Cypriots, who, if the British occupation had not taken place, would have been directly responsible to Turkey.

The interest at the rate of 4 per cent.

per annum payable on the outstanding amount of the Guaranteed Loan of 1855 (£3,815,200) involves, including the expenses of management, an annual charge of £153,752

Of this sum, there is met by the portion of the Egyptian tribute which was specially assigned to the service of the Loan . . . 72,000

Accordingly, in the absence of further funds applicable to meet the remainder of the charge, the respective annual liability of the British and French Governments would have been one-half of . £81,752¹

Or £40,876 each

During the financial year 1882-3 no less a sum than £306,318, 6s. 5d. was paid out of the Cyprus Treasury, an amount which included repay-

¹ Return to Address of the House of Lords, 15th March 1895 [55].

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ment of advances previously made by France and England for interest on the Ottoman Loan, in fulfilment of the guarantee given under the Statute 18 & 19 Vict. c. 99, and in the following year £81,896, 12s. 5d. were similarly disbursed. Continuously since that period a sum of £81,752, 11s. 2d. has been annually paid, the total amounts disbursed to satisfy Turkey's creditors having reached £1,532,750, 15s. 2d. at the end of the financial year 1897-8, while the Parliamentary grants in aid for the service of the island, from the 1st of April 1878 to the 31st of March 1898, have not exceeded the sum of £602,085.¹

¹ Return to an Order of the House of Commons, 13th February 1899 [42]. The financial history of Cyprus has only lately been generally accessible, and is disappointing. That the island has lost nothing but gained considerably by good administration under the British occupation cannot be doubted, but it is equally certain that the improvement would have been greater if it had been possible to apply the rule usually followed in the case (say) of British Colonies, viz. : that each Colony should enjoy its revenue for its own advantage. In very rough figures the position is this: the people of Cyprus, by not inconsiderable taxation, pay an annual revenue of about £180,000. Out of this the British Treasury takes for the tribute £90,000, of which £80,000 is paid to the bondholders of the 1855 Turkish (Crimean) Loan, guaranteed jointly by Great Britain and France, i.e. £40,000 on behalf of the French Government, and a similar sum on behalf of this country. There remains the difference between the amount paid to the bondholders and the sum taken from Cyprus. This surplus, exceeding £10,000 annually, is put aside, invested in consols, together with the interest thereon, and allowed to accumulate by way of sinking fund to pay off the drawn bonds of the repudiated loan, which bonds cannot be paid off

France should bear us no grudge, if indeed she does, for, to say the least, there has been no suffering on her part from our occupation of Cyprus; indeed, if she had had interests in the country, which is not the case, they would have been liberally bought out. The question of quasi-

without the Sultan's consent. Hence a deadlock. It is understood that an arrangement was attempted in 1898 as regards this loan, and that it fell through owing to the opposition of the Porte, but the question has not by any means been shelved. The invested surplus with the accumulated interest amounted at the end of the financial year 1897-8 to £158,600, and the sum total would have been *pro tanto* increased had not sums amounting to £24,803, 4s. 4d. been diverted out of the surplus during the years 1882-3, 1883-4, and 1885-6, to cover the ransoms of two British subjects, Colonel Synge and Mr. Suter, both carried off by brigands in parts of Turkish territory other than Cyprus, the former in 1880 from the neighbourhood of Salonika, the latter from near Varna in 1881. See Despatch from Lord Granville to Lord Dufferin, 26th September 1881. [Turkey, No. 11, 1881.] These ransoms the bankrupt Government of Turkey was unwilling, and probably unable, to provide. The diversion of a moiety of the Cyprus revenue naturally so impoverishes the island that the British Government has been forced to provide a grant in aid, which, striking an average on the ten years ended the 31st March 1898, has amounted to £30,000 per annum. Thus, broadly speaking, the British Treasury has received from Cyprus with one hand half her revenue, and with the other has returned one-third of that half. Or, taking the figures in another way, Cyprus is allowed to spend two-thirds of her revenue on herself, but pays the other third to Great Britain for the benefit of creditors under a loan to which she was not a party. By our occupation of Cyprus France has benefited by a net profit or saving of £40,000 per annum, and the British Treasury has gained £10,000 a year. The tribute has been estimated to be about 10s. per head of the population, or £2, 10s. per family, not allowing for the grant in aid, or, allowing for that grant, about 6s. 8d. per head, or £1, 13s. 4d. per family.

territorial compensation had been mooted and practically settled before the Berlin Congress had broken up, as it seemed to be generally imagined that the occupation might at any moment end in annexation under a new arrangement with Turkey. It must also be borne in mind that a meaning somewhat different from ours is usually attached to the words Protectorate and Occupation by France and other Powers.¹

The story of the Tunis arrangement is contained in many Blue and Yellow Books. No sooner had M. Waddington been apprised by Lord Salisbury in July 1878—the month in which the Annex was signed—of the effect of the Constantinople Convention than informal negotiations were commenced between France and Great Britain respecting Tunis. The French mind is nothing if not logical, and its logic is too often pushed to extremes from which, happily, the more stolid British character is exempt. The question of acre for acre was present in the thoughts of the statesmen of France directly the Cyprus arrangement was made known. On the 26th of July 1878 M. Waddington wrote to the Marquis d'Harcourt, the French Ambassador in London,

¹ “La fiction du protectorat,” *La politique française en Tunisie*, par P. H. X. Paris.

quoting, as he understood them, Lord Salisbury's words: "Do at Tunis what you think proper, England will offer no opposition and will respect your decisions," language subsequently confirmed by Lord Beaconsfield in an informal conversation with M. Waddington in Berlin, and, as it appears, repeated by Lord Salisbury.

A despatch of the 7th August 1878 from Lord Salisbury to Her Majesty's Ambassador in Paris admitted, apart from exact phraseology, the "general justice" of M. Waddington's recollections, and conveyed in writing—so far as this country was concerned—what seemed to be practically *carte blanche* to France in her dealings with Tunis. The position which Italy might assume in reference to the region under discussion was, it is unnecessary to state, carefully safeguarded. The Tunis understanding—for it never amounted to an agreement—took some time to develop. We need not now inquire into the facts that decided the ultimate action of France, or whether the alleged raids of the Kroumirs upon Algerian territory were or were not the real cause. Nor does it matter whether the active competition between the Rubattino Company and that of the French railway for the purchase of the short line be-

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tween Goletta and Tunis hastened that action. The French landed at Tabarka on the 30th of April 1881, and a material change came over the status of Tunisia, hitherto a Beylik of the Porte, by the signature at the Kasr Es-Said on the 12th of May following of a Treaty between France and Tunis, commonly known as the Treaty of the Bardo.

This Treaty provided, among other things, for the occupation of points deemed necessary by the French military authorities to insure the re-establishment of order and the security of the frontiers and of the coast, as well as for the appointment of a French Minister Plenipotentiary who should reside at Tunis. It also contained an article regulating the importation into the Regency of arms and munitions of war, and a proviso that the occupation should cease when the French and Tunisian military authorities should have recognised by common consent that the local administration was capable of guaranteeing the maintenance of order. The signature was wrung from the Bey by the French general under threats of dethronement and other momentous consequences, while the Palace was practically surrounded by troops.¹

¹ Mr. Read to Earl Granville, 13th May 1881 [C. 299, 11].

The previous year this country had been approached by France as regards the position which the new Government would assume in connection with French action in Tunis. Lord Granville, then at the Foreign Office, perhaps slightly less pliant than his predecessor, wrote on the 17th June 1880 to Lord Lyons recording the substance of a conversation which had taken place between the French Ambassador in London and himself. "Some discrepancy" was noticed in regard to the French and English versions of the interchange of views which had taken place in Berlin, but, while reaffirming the position taken up by Lord Salisbury in respect of Italy and disclaiming any intention of disposing of the rights of Turkey,¹ Lord Granville stated that "Her Majesty's Government had no jealousy of the influence which France . . . exercised, and is likely to exercise, over Tunis."

On the day of the receipt from Lord Lyons of the text of the Treaty of the Bardo (the 20th of May 1881), Lord Granville wrote to the French Ambassador stating that the provisions went

¹ It is unnecessary to say that Turkey protested. The protest is on record in "Tunis No. 6, 1881." Those who wish to know the feeling evoked in Italy by the *final* absorption of Tunis are referred to the debates in the Italian Chambers from the 29th of June to the 2nd of July 1896.

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beyond any question of the security of the frontier, and amounted practically to a Protectorate, which they (Her Majesty's Government) understood to have been disclaimed. A promise had been exacted from France that Bizerta should not be fortified or transformed into a naval fort. This promise was reduced to writing and is recorded in M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire's own words in a Despatch to Lord Lyons, dated the 16th of May 1881, which will be found among the papers given to Parliament by the Foreign Office in that year. Assuming that there exists nothing further in writing it is certain that, whatever may have been intended at the time, this self-denying ordinance, limited as it is by the word *aujourd'hui*, would not hold good in any Court of law, and the promise is scarcely worth the paper upon which it is written.¹ All schemes for the establishment of a Protectorate were disowned by France. The correspondence teems with references to and assurances in regard to the temporary and provisional nature of the occupation. These assurances were given not only to Great Britain but also to Italy (a country much more directly interested in Tunis) and, in point of fact, to the

¹ Cf. "Lord Salisbury's dealings with France," by "Diplomaticus," in the *Fortnightly Review*, 1st of November 1897.

world generally. It will be sufficient to quote M. Jules Ferry's statement as to the non-aggressive nature of the occupation given in the Senate in May on the very day on which the Treaty was signed :—

“La République française a repudié solennellement, en commençant cette expédition, tout projet d'annexion, toute idée de conquête: elle renouvelle à cette heure ou le dénouement est proche les mêmes déclarations”—

words received, according to the *Journal Officiel* of the 13th of May 1881, with *vif assentiment*.

By a subsequent Convention, signed at La Marsa on the 8th of June 1883, it was provided that the Bey should proceed with the reforms which the French Government might judge useful. France guaranteed the Consolidated and Floating debt of the Regency, and the Bey engaged not to contract any loan without the authority of the French Government. He also undertook to charge on the revenue the sum necessary to cover the interest on the guaranteed loan. His civil list was provided at 2,000,000 piastres, and the surplus revenue was put aside to cover the expenses of administration.¹

¹ State Papers, 1882-3, vol. lxxiv. p. 743.

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An Order of Her Majesty in Council of the 31st of December of the same year provided for the abolition of Consular jurisdiction from the 1st of January 1884, by which Order British subjects in Tunis became justiciable by French tribunals.

The rest of the story is soon told. The Italian Treaty with the Regency expired in 1896. Austria-Hungary and Sweden and Norway voluntarily renounced their privileges, and finally Great Britain, whose rights were perpetual under a Treaty with the Bey of the 19th of July 1875, ceded them by a new Convention with France signed at Paris on the 18th of September 1897; the delay on the part of Her Majesty's Government being due to Lord Salisbury's desire to obtain a concession in regard to the duty on cotton goods. By the action of Great Britain disappeared once for all "la dernière pierre d'achoppement contre laquelle venaient se briser nos efforts pour établir sur une base normale les relations commerciales entre le pays protecteur et le pays protégé."¹

The regulation of commercial relations was now complete, and the new Treaty provided that the Government of Her Britannic Majesty would

¹ *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française.* October 1897.

henceforth "abstain from claiming for its Consuls, those amenable to their jurisdiction (*les ressortissants*), and its establishments in the Regency of Tunis, other rights and privileges than those secured for it in France." The position of France as a protecting Power was finally assured. No acknowledgment as regards the action of other Powers emanated from the French press, which pointed to the settlement of the Tunis question as a triumph of French diplomacy.

It will be recollected that our negotiations with France have not always ended detrimentally to that country. The recent misunderstanding about Fashoda was brought to a close within three months after its commencement by an Anglo-French Agreement (of which later) conceding to France the right to vast territories which completed the union of her African Empire.

Those who know the East will not find it necessary to press Punic faith upon our allies of the Crimea in their dealings with Europe in respect of Tunis, or indeed in regard to the previous assurances given in 1830 as to the provisional occupation of Algeria. That occupation, when French opinion loudly demanded the retention of the country, Great Britain finally agreed should become permanent on the under-

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standing that there would be no extension of French influence towards Morocco or Tunis.¹ *Il n'y a que le provisoire qui reste.* The force of events in dealing with an Oriental country is generally unforeseen, and a provisional occupation may be contemplated one day in good faith which the dawn of the morrow may indefinitely prolong or even render permanent. New interests, fostered by civilisation and requiring protection, grow up quickly in the land, and civilisation once on the march cannot be held back by the shackles of diplomacy. It may, however, be worth while asking whether, having regard to Tunis and elsewhere, the frequent complaints which have been brought against us by France in respect of our position in Egypt are not, if taken seriously, suggestive of the parable of the mote and the beam. At least in the past this country has shown itself only too willing to evacuate Egypt at some future date, and, among other tokens, an arrangement which made this evacuation almost certain in three years from 1887 was frustrated solely by the short-sighted

¹ See Mr. Spencer Walpole's "History of England from the conclusion of the Great War in 1815," vol. iv. pp. 509, 510; the *Annual Register*, 1833, pp. 354-371; and other authorities referred to by Mr. J. St. Loe Strachey in an article on "Tunis and Egypt" in the *National Review*, March 1895.

opposition of France and Russia. The Wolff Convention and the article which caused its failure—the right of Great Britain to re-enter in case of future disturbance—have been dealt with at length by Sir Alfred Milner.¹

Again, it may be asked whether there is a single reasonable being who would wish to see Algeria return to what it was before it became a French Colony, or who would like Tunis to revert to its previous tottering condition. The record of the French work of civilisation in Algeria has been nothing if not magnificent in the past, whatever the state of the country may be at the present moment, and from personal experience the writer can confidently recommend the tourist or invalid wintering in the South, to “try Tunis”—now seen at its best—so soon as the existing hotel accommodation is enlarged. In one notable respect at least the French have the advantage of us as colonisers. The café-life, which is indispensable under French rule, does something to bring together Christians and Muhammadans and is a power which our national habits preclude us from using.

On the other hand, the French have not, for whatever reason, the art of giving fair repre-

¹ “England in Egypt,” pp. 121–124 of edition of 1899.

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sensation to the native element or that of making their Colonies pay their way. They remain a drag upon the mother country, and now, after more than fifty years of colonisation, Algeria continues to be, as presumably Tunisia will remain, dependent on large subsidies from France. A French writer, since naturalised in England, has said that "under British rule Algeria would become in less than five years a most prosperous Colony, and her trade with France alone would be more than doubled."¹

In Tunis "perfect security has been given throughout the country, excellent roads . . . have been constructed, the railway system has been rapidly developed, harbours have been engineered, justice has been established, the finances have been brought into order, the debt has been twice converted, a considerable reserve accumulated,

¹ *Fortnightly Review*, November 1898. M. Lionel Dècle is not by any means the only French-born citizen who has recently taken up the cudgels on behalf of Great or Greater Britain. Such names as MM. (le Baron) Pierre de Coubertin, Max Leclerc, Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu, Edmond Demolins, Max O'Rell, and Yves Guyot may occur to the reader. The writer's long experience of France tends to confirm the opinion that the better classes in that country are not necessarily *anglophobes*, any more than they are invariably approvers of the policy of their own leaders. But the generation has passed away which could recollect that French ladies had (successfully) wearied Heaven in 1815 for the triumph of the allied armies against Napoleon.

the registration of land ownership on the Torrens system has been made compulsory, and every incentive is being given to colonisation and the agricultural development of the resources of the country, itself as large as England and Wales, and much resembling Argentina in character.”¹

This seems no mean record of French enterprise in less than seventeen years, and in many respects contrasts favourably with our own work in Cyprus. It may be added that much has been done in Tunis in the way of education, and that in spite of augmented duties on many articles, and the exemption of all French goods from customs duties, British trade with Tunis shewed, so far as could be ascertained by Her Majesty's Consul-General, an increase of £220,261 in 1898 over the preceding year. The French have learned to do in Tunisia what they have not always done elsewhere. They rule while preserving the sign of the native authority, but the stationary nature of the population of France and the love of home of its inhabitants have hitherto marred all prospects of colonisation. Immigrants from Malta were the pioneers of

¹ Sir C. E. Howard Vincent's letter to the *Times*, dated Tunis, the 15th of January 1898.

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civilisation in the Regency, and various reasons have contributed to the falling off in their numbers. The Maltese Colony was computed at 15,552 in 1898, against nearly double that number in 1885. Many Maltese are attracted to Egypt and other countries, and no pains are taken to keep them in Tunis. One determining cause for this exodus will be found in the hard fishing regulations imposed in 1898 at Porto Farina, which had previously been almost a Maltese Colony. These fisheries, which in January of that year were made over to an absentee Frenchman, have been ruined by these regulations, and not more than 300 Maltese were counted at the station in the spring of 1899. The numbers have no doubt dwindled further, as the fisheries have practically ceased to exist.

So far the reader has been reminded of the Cyprus-Tunis understanding, and it will not generally be denied that France has not only got the better of the bargain, but has also better developed the resources at her command. There is another point, the harbour of Bizerta, which lies outside the scope of this understanding. Lord Granville's careful endeavour to preserve this place from becoming a formidable naval

station has been noticed, but the position which it might one day assume under the pressure of an outburst of public opinion in France—lying as it does between Gibraltar and Malta—would alone be a consideration if any question should hereafter arise in respect of our evacuation of Egypt.

Bizerta was not opened as a naval port till 1895, three years having been required to cut the channel connecting the nearest lake with the Mediterranean. Imagine an expanse of water 13 kilomètres long from east to west, 9 wide, with a depth of 5 to 7 fathoms, a land-locked harbour containing 50 square miles of anchorage suitable for the largest vessels afloat—a position which complete outer fortifications would render impregnable. Such is Bizerta. Out of this port, assuming that the mouth were enlarged, the real difficulty might arise in the future, and the existence of a standing menace in the Mediterranean might, in certain circumstances, become an international question.

In point of fact it is the Italian mind, if the newspapers of Italy faithfully represent it, that is more exercised than any other by the possible formation of an independent naval base for offence and defence connected by rail with

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Tunis and Algeria. As the best harbour in the Mediterranean the value of Bizerta was fully recognised in ancient times when it fell within the site of a Tyrian Colony. It naturally went to ruin under Turkish rule.

CHAPTER II

INTERVENTION

Before the bombardment of Alexandria—Turkish indecision—
British intervention—The Suez Canal—Lord Dufferin's mission
—Abandonment of the Hinterland—Nubar Pacha—Apprecia-
tion of his character—Gordon's third mission—Fall of Khartum.

THE oft-told tale of our relations with Egypt must be recited once more in brief outline if we are to realise where this country stands at the present moment. An attempt has been made in the introductory chapter to show that, as regards France, the Constantinople Convention respecting Cyprus was more than liberally paid for by this country, if only in the direction of Tunis. The task was not a grateful one, for the day ought to have arrived when no question of a pound of flesh one way or another, or rather an acre for an acre, could be discussed where the spread of civilisation is concerned.

As we all know, France had been already before us in Egypt. An incursion at the end of last century, under Napoleon masquerading as a Mussulman,¹ had commenced but not terminated

¹ See Appendix I.

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with the declaration that Egypt had become part of the French dominions. The history of this expedition is not pleasant reading—everywhere loot, debauchery, and massacre; the University Mosque on one occasion turned into a slaughter-house reeking with Muslim blood; a siege of Cairo raised with difficulty after a month; and finally a march out under the cover of British bayonets, while the air rang with curses against the French Jacobin soldiers, abandoned by their leader, and stragglers from their ranks were destroyed wherever they were met. The French troops arrived at Alexandria on the 1st of July 1798, and had it not been for the intervention of Great Britain in 1801 the country might have remained French to this day. Nelson's victory over the French squadron in Abukir Bay in March of that year, and Sir Ralph Abercromby's victories on land during the same month, decided the fate of war. Alexandria surrendered on the 1st of September, and the French set sail in the course of the month. Yet, after dislodging France, and notwithstanding the tearing up of the treaty of Amiens, Great Britain retired from her vantage ground and quitted Alexandria in 1803.

Her prestige in Egypt, however, remained sufficient to give anxiety to France, and the French

Consul, acting under the instructions of his Government, found in Muhammad Ali, Colonel of the Albanian corps, a ready instrument to be employed in the destruction of British and Mameluk influence. This distinguished but not over-scrupulous soldier and politician, who eventually ruled as Pacha of Egypt between 1805 and 1848, was born at Kavalla, a seaport of Rumelia opposite Thasos Island, in 1768 or 1769, and in the invasion of 1798-1801 fought on the side of the Turks and British against the French, he himself leading the Albanian contingent of the Turkish forces. An unnecessary and unfortunate expedition of our own in 1807, in support of the Mameluks, was frustrated owing to insufficiency in numbers and the imperfect nature of the tactics displayed. On the 17th of March Alexandria, disaffected towards Muhammad Ali, gladly welcomed the British under General Fraser. Not long afterwards a large portion of the force was decoyed to its doom by a representation of the British Resident at Alexandria, the accuracy of which has been much questioned, to the effect that the population would run the risk of starvation unless Rosetta and Er-Rhamanieh were occupied. From these points supplies might be obtained. Rosetta was entered

without opposition, but no sooner had the British force dispersed through the narrow streets than the garrison opened deadly fire upon them from roofs and latticed windows. The force fell back upon Alexandria and Abukir with heavy loss. Nine hundred or a thousand men were reported killed, wounded, or missing, and British heads became a drug upon the Cairene market. The remainder of the force, which originally does not seem to have exceeded 5000 men, was compelled by the Turks to evacuate, and set sail from Alexandria in the month of September.

Things were perhaps better as they were. If Great Britain had succeeded in retaining Alexandria on this occasion her presence would have afforded Napoleon a pretext for sending a force to support the Turkish army in Egypt, which force would not improbably have remained there.

As it was, this disastrous expedition largely tended to throw Egypt into the hands of the French, and naturally Muhammad Ali turned to France for civilisation. In times well within the memory of a middle-aged man French influence was still paramount in Egypt, and was at its height under Ismail Pacha. The cutting of the Suez Canal, declared to be impossible by

one or more English engineers and strenuously opposed by Lord Palmerston, and finally its opening for navigation on the 17th of November 1869, recorded the high-water mark of the influence of France in the last generation. Apart from political considerations, there was much to be said in favour of Lord Palmerston's opposition. Napoleon, during the brief French occupation of 1798-1801, had ordered a survey of the Isthmus. His engineers, following classic authorities, declared the Mediterranean to be more than thirty feet below the level of the Red Sea, and it was not till long afterwards that certain English engineers reported in a contrary sense. The recommendation that a complicated fresh and salt water canal should be constructed was not carried out in consequence of the forced evacuation of the country by the French not long afterwards. It is true that the Suez Canal has not been an unmixed blessing to Egypt. Indeed if it has been a blessing at all the benison has lighted on commercial nations—chiefly Great Britain—on shareholders, and on those who gained paid employment during its construction, or who have done so since its completion. To-day, Great Britain is the largest shareholder and greatest customer in the Canal.

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The old overland route across the desert was distinctly remunerative to Egypt, and the money has passed once and for all into another channel. The Canal remains, however, a fact—a colossal work carried out by the talent of Frenchmen against the open discountenance of our own country, and the stolid indifference of the rest of Europe. No one will grudge the praise due to the extraordinary genius of M. de Lesseps, who in the year 1854 gave definite shape to the plans of his compatriot M. Linant de Bellefonds and, backed by the substantial encouragement of Napoleon III., finally triumphed over all obstacles, leaving behind him the finest existing monument of the Second Empire. It is only surprising that thirty years should have been allowed to elapse since the date of the opening of the Canal before a statue was erected at Port Said in memory of Ferdinand de Lesseps.

It is difficult to arrive at a correct estimate of the cost to the Egyptian Treasury of this gigantic enterprise. Probably those who have estimated the total at £19,000,000 are not far wrong. Of this sum £4,000,000 were recouped in 1875 by the sale to England of the shares belonging to the Khedive, a transaction referred to in the introductory chapter. Egypt does not now par-

ticipate in profits, though no one can foretell what may be in store for the country in 1968, when, in accordance with the terms of the concession, the Canal devolves, plant and all, upon the Egyptian Government.¹ The enterprise was also paid for by the sacrifice of thousands of native lives through the evils attending the *corvée*, without counting the loss of Europeans in consequence of cholera and from other causes.² The total pecuniary outlay seems to have included the enormous sum of £3,360,000 paid, under the award of the Emperor Napoleon III. in 1864, to the Company for modifications in or breaches of the original concession.

The composition of this sum was as follows:—

Compensation for the withdrawal of the	
labour of the fellahin	£1,520,000
<i>Ditto</i> for the resumption of the land along	
the Canal, with the exception of 200	
metres on either bank	1,200,000
<i>Ditto</i> for the fresh-water canal from Ras-	
el-Wady to Suez	640,000
	<hr/>
	£3,360,000

¹ Article 16 of the Act of Concession of 1866 admits the right of the Company to indemnification as regards *matériel* and other things. In case of renewal royalties are required.

² In regard to cholera see particularly *L'histoire de l'éthiome de Suez*, par M. Olivier Ritt, 1869.

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There is also to be taken into consideration a payment from the Egyptian Treasury of a sum of £400,000 in 1866 for the repurchase of a certain domain bought five years previously from Said Pacha for £74,000.¹

As regards the *corvée*, Sir Henry Bulwer (afterwards Lord Dalling and Bulwer), Her Majesty's Ambassador to the Porte, had, on the occasion of his visit to Egypt in 1863, declared the tyranny of the system which provided four-fifths of the whole labour to be an intolerable drain upon the country. The drafting of 20,000 fellahin monthly from their proper work at home was a startling fact, and produced its natural result in the impoverisation of the land. It is no answer to this indictment that the labourers in general received a modest wage. More than forty years ago a French author wrote of the *corvée* generally that "it is well known that abuses swarmed under the feudal system, and what the *villeins*, *taillables*, *et corvéables à merci* paid under various forms. This system, so justly detested among us, would have been perhaps a great benefit in comparison with the ruinous exactions of which

¹ "Egypt as it is," by Mr. J. C. McCoan, published apparently in 1877.

the villages, and consequently the fellahin, were the victims." ¹

The reader must not lay on the broad shoulders of Ismail Pacha the credit of all this outpouring of money and of blood, the fact being that the preliminary concessions were granted by his predecessor Said, who died in January 1863.

The definitive Convention of 1866, sanctioned by the Sultan's firman of the same year, did little more than confirm the previous instruments.

It is not necessary to enter here into the details of the joint action of France and England, chiefly in financial matters, sought, encouraged, and, when necessary, thwarted by Ismail; but whatever were its faults, this action saved the ship from foundering in her troubles in 1875, and was of considerable use subsequently.

It was correctly stated seventeen years ago by a careful writer that the Anglo-French Control was never popular in Egypt. It could not have been so. Native officials and the class which had fattened on Ismail's prodigality cordially detested it, because it curtailed opportunities of peculation, reserved many lucrative posts for foreigners and prevented the reckless

¹ "Egypt and the Great Suez Canal," by M. J. Barthélemy de St.-Hilaire, 1857.

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squandering of public money. The unofficial classes hated it because it represented to them the instrument of foreign financial avidity. Lastly, it was unpopular among all men animated with Egyptian or Mussulman "patriotism."¹

Yet, passing by occasional friction, it was, so long as it lasted, a partial success from a European point of view and a godsend to the country after years of unlicensed prodigality. Had proper support been at its back, the Control might have become something like a real success notwithstanding its dual character. It was inevitably brought against it by the "Nationalists" that it employed an unnecessary number of European officials, some of whom were not really efficient, and that in several points it exceeded its recognised limits.

With the deposition of Ismail by the Sultan on the 26th of June 1879, an act brought about by the earnest representations of the Joint Powers, the reign of hopeless extravagance ceased. A new Dual Control, slightly different from its predecessor, was established by a decree of Taufik Pacha on the 15th of November of the same year. As a consequence,

¹ "Egypt and the Egyptian Question," by D. Mackenzie Wallace, 1883.

a Commission was appointed and the rate of interest on the National Debt was reduced.

Notwithstanding the debt bequeathed to the country by Ismail, not wholly by his own fault,—fixed by the Law of Liquidation of July 1880 at £98,685,930—the end of the same year showed a working surplus of £378,676. Unhappily, while the reform was still going on, the military demonstrations broke out.

At the request of the Khedive, after the second demonstration, the Sultan was preparing to send Turkish troops to Alexandria. France and England interfered to prevent this action, and, when the Porte ultimately despatched two Imperial Commissioners, the Joint Powers again intervened, and sent two ships to Egyptian waters, assuring the Khedive that he might rely upon their support against undue interference on the part of the Ottoman Envoys.

Ahmad Arabi, a military adventurer, sprung from the ranks, of a type only too common in the East, had already formed a strong “National” party, and was sweeping all before him. An Anglo-French naval demonstration took place, and a joint ultimatum was issued in May 1882 demanding the resignation of the Arabist Cabinet. Unfortunately, this ultimatum was not backed by

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the appearance of a fleet at Alexandria, either with or without troops. The Ministers resigned when bidden, but, as if in protest against the acceptance of the Anglo-French ultimatum, the Khedive was soon afterwards obliged to reinstate Arabi as Minister of War. Practically he was Dictator. No one was more hardly pressed than Taufik Pacha, and probably no responsible person, unless his father, ever seriously attributed to him deficiency of personal courage. It is a matter of history that when the supreme moment of danger arrived he refused with dignity the British Admiral's offer of protection on board a British ship. His Highness's behaviour in the summer of 1883, during a severe outbreak of cholera, confirmed the good opinion previously formed of his moral qualities. Lord Dufferin, some time later, described Taufik's character as eminently benevolent and sympathetic. "Well versed in history, and alive to the progress of events, he is indisposed either to claim or exercise the arbitrary powers of an Oriental autocrat. Having conscientiously at heart the welfare of his people, he is willing to accord them such a measure of constitutional privilege as their backward condition entitles them to demand." In point of fact no Egyp-

tian (ay) of the official class will deny that he gave his subjects too suddenly a large measure of liberty and self-government, considering the state of bondage in which they had been accustomed to live, and naturally they wanted more. In his predecessor's time there would have been no Arabist rebellion. Arabi would have disappeared, and with him his first lieutenant Mahmud. There are persons in Egypt to this day who claim to remember that, when some question of the removal of Arabi was suggested to Taufik, his straightforward answer left nothing that could be misunderstood. It is Taufik's highest praise that he was only too good for the Oriental people whom he had been called upon to govern.

Finally the Cabinets of the two Powers agreed to request the Sultan to send a special commissioner to Egypt with the view of restraining the revolutionary faction, and overtures were made to all the Great Powers for convoking a European Conference to consider the Egyptian question. The Turkish Imperial Commission was attended with no success. Before anything could be done by Europe generally the story had been industriously circulated, and only too widely accepted, that El-Islam was in danger and that Arabi had can-

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celled the debts of the fellahin. The fanatical excitement produced by this report found expression in the massacres at Alexandria of the 11th of June 1882 and, about the same time, elsewhere in Egypt. At least 150 Europeans—some of them British subjects—lost their lives at Alexandria alone, without counting native Christians and others in the interior of the country, whose number it is impossible to determine. The escape from Alexandria of many well-to-do Christians was not unlike that of Armenians of a similar class from Constantinople during the massacres in Turkey a few years ago. It has been recorded by a well-known historian of the Egyptian campaigns of this period that at the time of these events there were eight British ships of war, and nine others belonging to various Powers, lying off Alexandria, but of course without troops on board.¹ The Porte was clearly placed within the horns of a dilemma. Arabi had posed successfully as the champion of El-Islam, and had carried with him a large majority of the Egyptian populace. On the other hand, there was the pressure to do something in the direction of restoring order

¹ Mr. Charles Royle's "Egyptian Campaigns, 1882 to 1885," published in 1886.

brought by the European Powers to bear upon the Sultan, who, as it happened, had decorated Arabi with the order of the Mejidie on the 25th of June, a few days after the massacres for which the said Arabi was mainly responsible.

Before the Porte could decide on action, a collision occurred between the British admiral and the *de facto* Government. The first shot was fired on the 11th of July, and Alexandria was bombarded and destroyed; the destruction, be it remembered, *not* being carried out by the British fleet, but by the "Nationalists" within the town.

The question arises whether, after all, the bombardment of Alexandria could not in some way have been avoided. It is difficult to believe that it could, considering the enormous interests at stake. Early in June Arabi had commenced strengthening the fortifications of Alexandria, with the view of keeping out foreigners and governing the country according to his own lights. Sir Frederick Beauchamp Seymour (subsequently Lord Alcester) protested, and the matter was, as usual, referred to the Sultan, who forbade the continuance of Arabi's enterprise. Nevertheless, the works on the fortifications went on, and heavy guns were mounted. Information was

received by the British admiral to the effect that the entrance to the harbour would be blocked by sunken store-ships, and that the canal itself would be blown up by dynamite. On the 27th of the same month, the British Vice-Consul had found it necessary to recommend his compatriots to leave Alexandria. Whatever could be done was done to induce Arabi to discontinue his work, and the European Consuls endeavoured, but in vain, to put off or prevent the bombardment. Sir Frederick Beauchamp Seymour, unable to trust Arabi in view of previous assurances given and broken, sent him an ultimatum on the 9th of July, stating that if the forts were not evacuated and surrendered the bombardment of the town would be commenced next day. The French fleet, which had been in company with the English for four months, had disappeared, there being no mandate under which the French admiral could act. The forts surrendered the day after the bombardment, and landing parties from the British ships found it no easy matter to save what remained of the burning town, and to check the Arab loot which was going on in the European quarter. The leading English journals, for the most part, correctly represented the position of the Government at this juncture.

"If, as we are very loth to believe, no other Power will assist, England will certainly intervene sooner or later. . . . But we hesitate to believe that England will be left to do the work entirely alone."¹

On looking back it will be remembered that a great part of the mutinous soldiers were collected at Alexandria, and that the rebellion, thus localised, might have been stamped out by a vigorous policy. As it was, time was given to the insurgents to rally at Kafr-Dowar and Tel-el-Kebir.

The Arabist legend was to no appreciable extent affected by the success of the bombardment. On the 3rd of August, although the native Christians for hereditary reasons had no cause for loving their Arab masters, as will be shewn in a subsequent chapter, the Coptic patriarch joined the Egyptian princes and others in signing a document upholding Arabi as Minister of War and Marine.

The well-intentioned Conference of Ambassadors at Constantinople did nothing worth recording, and in consequence of the recent operations, Lord Dufferin, Her Majesty's Ambassador to the Porte, announced to his colleagues

¹ *Times*, 12th of July 1882.

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that the Queen's Government would now be compelled to take a more active part in the restoration of order in Egypt. No objection was raised, and thus a tacit consent was naturally inferred. A little later Russia proposed an amendment, but her proposition lay rather in the direction of a general European control over the country.

General Sir Garnet (subsequently Lord) Wolseley reached Egypt on the 15th of August 1882, and Arabi's power was shaken at Kassasin on the 28th of that month and shattered at Tel-el-Kebir on the 13th of September. On the following day the British troops entered the citadel of Cairo, to the great relief, no doubt, of certain of the warriors of the Egyptian garrison, poor fellahin dressed up, whose enthusiasm was damped when they saw that real fighting was in question, and who accordingly surrendered without a blow. It is probable that not one-half of those who shouted and were supposed to be ready to die for Arabi knew what they were called upon to fight about. On the 15th of September Sir Garnet Wolseley telegraphed to London: "The war is over. Send no more troops to Egypt." Arabi was tried in December and condemned to death,

the capital sentence passed upon him and six other Nationalist leaders being commuted to banishment.

After the short campaign of 1882 the Sultan was informed that his intervention was now unnecessary; order had been re-established.

It may well be asked, where was our old ally at the bombardment of Alexandria and afterwards? France, which had taken the lead, had worked harmoniously on the whole with Great Britain in the earlier stages of the proceedings, and in consonance with the system of joint action which had hitherto prevailed, Lord Granville had, before the bombardment, invited the French Government to co-operate. The reader needs scarcely to be reminded of the position in which France stood at the critical moment. The grip of Bismarck was supposed to be, and most probably was, on the throat of his old antagonist, and the story easily gained credence that Germany was only too willing to let France be drawn into foreign complications, in order to make her attacks on French territory secure. Another condensed telegram might at any moment have been flung before the face of an astonished Europe, which would have made it impossible for France to do otherwise than declare war as on a

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previous occasion.¹ Moreover, many Frenchmen were not altogether pleased with the Tunisian affair commenced in the previous year. Nevertheless, M. de Freycinet asked the Chamber for a grant sufficient to show co-operation with England in the defence of the Suez Canal. The House of Commons had on the 27th of July passed a vote for the suppression of disorder in Egypt, and two days subsequently the French Chamber of Deputies rejected M. de Freycinet's proposal for a grant of 9,410,000 francs by a proportion of 450 to 75. It must be remembered that there was now no question on the part of France of military co-operation in Egypt: the proposition was solely one of the defence of the Canal. It was brought against M. Gambetta at the time that his action in combating the vote was rather that of a partisan than of a patriot; in any case, it helped largely to secure the downfall of the De Freycinet Cabinet. The programme of France was absolute abstention. Italy when referred to also refused to co-operate.

Thus, with the door slammed in her face, Great Britain had only to choose between abandoning the country to its ruin under Arabi or

¹ Bismarck's *Gedanken und Erinnerungen* (Leipzig, 1898), vol. ii. p. 91.

fighting the insurrectionist party single-handed. The bombardment had been, in the language of no mean authority, "ordered by a Government presided over by a statesman who used his powerful efforts so thoroughly in the direction of peace and the reduction of our armaments, that it is certain that we must have lost our Empire had there been a coalition against us."¹

Happily there was no idea of such a coalition, and Great Britain was allowed, or rather forced, to figure in a rôle, not of her own seeking—that of general policeman on behalf of the European Powers.

It may be doubted whether it has ever been seriously brought against perfidious Albion by reputable French writers, that she took advantage of the weakness of her previous ally to rush into Egypt at a moment when that ally was not in a position to act with her. The fault, too common in England, would be to take *au sérieux* the rhetoric of the gutter press in France—"the garbage of the pit"—which, when occasion arises, is successfully dealt with by the better class of French writers.

For reasons of which she was the best judge, France at the critical moment retired from her

¹ Lord Charles Beresford's letter to the *Times*, November 8, 1897.

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engagements of collaboration—real and implied—leaving Great Britain to do the duty of the Allied Powers. Another question arises: whether since that date successive French Governments have not erred by showing too little willingness to assist, even passively, either in the regeneration of Egypt or in the pacification of the Hinterland; or, assuming that indemnification were necessary, whether they have not found it elsewhere than in the immediate sphere of interest with an unnecessary want of consideration for the rights and privileges of a friendly Power. The intelligent reader will no doubt supply the gaps. The policy of *coups d'épingles* has occasionally been admitted by French newspapers.¹

One of the most curious episodes of this campaign, where all was abnormal, was the “seizure” of the Suez Canal by Great Britain. Arabi had notified M. de Lesseps, in reply to his telegram of the 21st of August, that the provisional destruction of this highway was necessary. The position assumed by M. de Lesseps as a “Power” was, it is needless to state, disowned by France. Somehow it happened that on the night of the 19th–20th the British devils, being too quick for Arabi, had

¹ See Appendix II.

already taken possession of the Canal. The secret had been well kept. As a matter of course every little tarbushed urchin in Alexandria knew that the British ships had started, not for Port Said but, for Abukir.

Thus, by a caprice of fate, was the great work of De Lesseps saved from destruction by the very Power which had placed every moral difficulty in the way of its construction, and Goethe's wish seemed for the moment to be realised.¹

Some time previous to the "seizure" of the Canal, the *Débats* (29th of July) had written that "English intervention in Egypt is an accomplished fact. Great Britain undertakes an expedition which will cost her dear but she will make Egypt pay the expense, and that country will henceforth become an English

¹ As Goethe's words on the subject of a Suez Canal have sometimes been misquoted and even made to bear a prophetic meaning, it is worth while going to the fountain-head to reduce them to their proper proportions. The reference is no doubt to Eckermann's *Gespräche mit Goethe*. On the 21st of February 1827, the sage of Weimar is reported to have spoken generally in regard to canals. He would gladly live, though he should not do so, to see (1) a canal cut through the Isthmus of Panama. He would also like to see (2) another connecting the Danube with the Rhine, and (3) finally the English in possession of a Suez Canal ("Drittens moechte ich die Englaender in Besitz eines Kanal von Suez sehen"). He adds, "I should like to live to see these three great things, and it would be well worth while, out of love for them, to hold on some fifty years more" ("ihnen zu Liebe es noch einige 50 Jahre auszuhalten").

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province. The security of the Canal traffic is incompatible with the existence of anarchy in Egypt, and the Power which at its own cost and risk re-establishes order in Egypt will not do it gratuitously, and that Power will be right." Later on, when the safety of the Canal was assured, the French newspapers were less friendly to England. Mr. C. Royle, in his "History of the Egyptian Campaign," gives extracts from *Le Siècle*, *La France*, *Le Télégraphe*, *Le Soir*, the Gambettist *Paris*, *La Liberté*, and *Le Français*, some of which papers represented a view quite inconsistent with any idea of appreciation of the position which the British "thieves" had been forced to assume.

It need scarcely be stated that there was never any idea of the retention by Great Britain of the Canal which a quick move had saved from the "provisional destruction" with which it was threatened.

As Her Majesty's Government had no settled policy, unless that of getting out of the country as quickly as possible, something had to be done. Lord Dufferin was despatched, apparently with no other view than that of early evacuation, to report on the state of affairs. He landed in Egypt on the 7th of November 1882. However

Utopian many of his recommendations may have been, his General Report of the 6th of February 1883 was exhaustive, considering the information at hand, in regard to such points as the Army, the Constabulary, the Urban Police, Institutions, the Electoral Body, Irrigation, the Debt of the Country, &c. It was pointed out, among other things, that there was no real justice in Egypt: "What passes under that name is a mockery both as regards the Tribunals themselves and the *corpus juris* they pretend to administer." It was also submitted that we could not consider the work of reorganisation complete, or the responsibilities imposed upon us by circumstances adequately discharged, unless we had seen Egypt shake herself free from the initial embarrassments which he enumerated. "Even then," Lord Dufferin concluded, "the stability of our handiwork will not be assured unless it is clearly understood by all concerned that no subversive influence will intervene between England and the Egypt she has re-created."

No one can determine whether this report, if it had reached London a week earlier, would have affected the decision of Her Majesty's Government. As a matter of fact, it was received at the Foreign Office on the 14th of February 1883, the

day before the opening of Parliament, and very naturally could not have been taken into consideration at the Cabinet Council held with the view of settling the Queen's Speech. On the following day the Speech from the Throne announced that "tranquillity has been restored to that country (Egypt), clemency has been shown by its ruler to the leaders of the rebellion, and the withdrawal of the British troops is proceeding as expeditiously as a prudent consideration of the circumstances will admit."

Her Majesty's Speech of the 15th of February, among other signs of evacuation, excited the utmost alarm among the European inhabitants, and in the month following a petition from them, drawn up in English, French, Italian and Greek, was presented to Lord Dufferin against complete evacuation. This petition was duly submitted to Her Majesty's Government, but the writer has not found any record of the reply to this or to an earlier memorial for protection sent by the British residents just before the massacre of June 1882.

The number of British troops was fixed, after the suppression of the rebellion in September 1882, at 12,000 men, "to be reduced from time to time, and in the degree that is considered judicious in view of the formation of a native

force, whether of military or police, ready to take its place."¹ Before the reduction of the British garrison had gone as far as had been contemplated, disquieting rumours reached England from the Sudan. The fatal disaster in Kordofan to an Egyptian rabble of 10,000 men under Hicks Pacha on the 5th of November 1883, and a similar defeat of native troops under the command of Baker Pacha at El-Teb in the following February, and, perhaps not least, the imminent danger of Suakin, compelled the British Government again to intervene. Fresh troops were sent out under the late General Sir Gerald Graham, who, after leaving Suakin, attacked the rebels and defeated them. After this, nothing was done to destroy permanently the work effected by Osman Digna, the evil genius of the district. The troops sent against him were scattered, only one battalion being retained at Suakin.

A month after the first great disaster in the Sudan the unpalatable advice was given to the Khedive to abandon that Province.

Cherif Pacha, who had been Prime Minister since September 1882, resigned and Nubar Pacha

¹ Sir Edward Malet to Cherif Pacha, 31st of December 1882. Until the 30th of September the British Government undertook to defray all expenses incurred in suppressing the rebellion.

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formed another native Ministry in January 1884, accepting, whether willingly or not, the policy imposed by Her Majesty's Government in regard to the Sudan. As an Armenian and a Christian, Nubar was distrusted from first to last by the Muslims, and on more than one occasion was treated with conspicuous want of consideration by the one European Power which has benefited by his far-reaching intelligence. To him is ascribed the dictum that Egypt wanted two things—Justice and Water—and that Great Britain was the Power which could give both. It has been brought against Nubar that he showed too openly his difference of opinion when he dissented from the policy of Her Majesty's Consul-General and Minister Plenipotentiary at Cairo, but his views, whether they were right or wrong, were honestly formed and should in any case be placed to his credit. History will probably pronounce Nubar, whatever his faults, to have been on the whole the best and certainly the most honest of Egyptian statesmen.¹

General Gordon, who had already been twice in the Sudan in the service of Ismail—in 1874

¹ Cherif Pacha never returned to power, and died in 1887. Nubar died in Paris in January 1899, after having served six successive Rulers of Egypt, and was buried in Alexandria with every sign of respect. Since his final resignation in 1895, when

and 1877—leaving a marked improvement on each occasion, was again sent out, this time by Her Majesty's Government. His original instructions, dated the 18th of January 1884, were, briefly, to the effect that he was to report upon the military situation in the Sudan, upon the best mode of effecting the evacuation of the interior of the Province, and upon the manner in which the safety and good administration by the Egyptian Government on the sea-coast could best be secured. He was also to consider how to counteract the stimulus which it was feared might be given to the slave-trade by the insurrectionary party and by the withdrawal of Egyptian authority from the interior. New and extended instructions were issued to him on the 25th of the same month. His final instructions emanated from the Egyptian Government in a firman appointing him Governor-General of the Sudan.

Here we may draw a veil. The story is only too well known. Few events in our time have impressed themselves more vividly on the mind of the British people than what has been called the dereliction of Gordon. We are, after all,

he was succeeded by Mustafa Pacha Fahmi, Nubar had lived in retirement chiefly in Paris. His rival Riaz Pacha still survives. Riaz replaced Nubar in 1888, retaining office for nearly three years, and served again from 1893 to 1894.

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however much we may dissemble the fact from ourselves, a sentimental people, and the story of the Gordon tragedy, apart from politics, had a large share in discrediting the Government which had been responsible for sending him out. We have known recently, if we did not suspect before, the circumstances in which it had been decided to take action to save Gordon.

Mr. Gladstone, up to the last, no doubt conscientiously believed that Gordon was, to use his own expression, as safe as he would have been in Regent Street. Not all the Cabinet were of this mind, and a Memorandum dated the 29th of July 1884 expressing a contrary opinion was circulated by an important member to his colleagues with the consent of the Prime Minister, whose observations accompanied it.¹ Lord Wolseley's expedition by the Nile route, to which he gave the preference, was the result of the resolution then taken.

Khartum fell and Gordon died at his post on the 26th of January 1885. The story of the manner of his death as generally received has been lately traversed by "A Prisoner of the Khalifa," but rightly or wrongly the latest ac-

¹ "Memorials Personal and Political," 1865-95, by Roundell Palmer, Earl of Selborne, vol. ii. 1898.

count has not uprooted the previously accepted version. Sir Charles Wilson's relief force was two days too late. Khartum was lost to Egypt for more than thirteen years—

“Red ruin and the breaking-up of laws.”

CHAPTER III

FACTS AND FIGURES

Egyptian finance—Help for the fellahin—Administration of the Wakfs—Prisons and Public Health Departments—Lunatic Asylum—Hashish—Education—The corvée—Slavery.

It is a trite saying, that one of the most difficult tasks committed to the care of a tutelary Power is that of financing an almost bankrupt country. In regard to Egypt this task has eventually fallen to the lot of Great Britain. If that Power has in any degree been successful, it must be admitted that success has been achieved in circumstances of some difficulty arising from the shackles of internationalism, very properly devised for the protection of the country under totally different conditions from those at present existing. The attempt to regulate finance had been honestly begun some time before the date of the occupation. The latter years of Ismail's reign had been even more ruinous than those which went before, and the financial recklessness which disfigured them could in no case

have been borne much longer. During the existence of the Dual Control—re-established in 1879 and finally abrogated by the Khedival Decree of the 18th of January 1883—the law of liquidation consolidating the debt of Egypt, which was passed in 1880, fixed the total indebtedness of the country at £98,685,930. The items which composed it were as follows:—

Privileged Debt . . .	£22,629,800
Unified Debt . . .	58,043,326
Daira Loan . . .	9,512,804
Domains Loan . . .	8,500,000
	<hr/>
	£98,685,930

The financial situation existing at the time is thus summarised by Sir Alfred Milner:—"The rate of interest was 5 per cent. on the Privileged and the Domains Loans; but the Daira was entitled to a further 1 per cent. contingent upon certain circumstances which have, however, never arisen. Leaving out of account the interest on the Daira and Domains Loans—which would, it was hoped, be defrayed by the yield of the respective estates—the charge upon the revenues of Egypt, for the service of the Debt, amounted to £E.3,410,000 per annum (£E.1,157,000 for the Privileged and £E.2,253,000 for the Unified). Adding to these figures the

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tribute due to Turkey, the interest on the Suez Canal shares bought by England, the Mukabala (an annual payment to certain landholders whose taxes had been anticipated by Ismail) and a few minor charges, the total encumbrances of the country fell only just short of £E.4,500,000, not reckoning the sums which might be necessary to make up the deficits of the Domains and the Daira. As the whole revenue of Egypt at the time amounted to little more than nine millions—in 1881, a very prosperous year, it was £E.9,229,000—it will be seen that just about half the receipts were, under the most favourable circumstances, diverted to the discharge of the liabilities which had been piled up during the preceding fifteen years. The burden was enormous, but, heavy as it was, it had only been rendered bearable by heavy sacrifices on the part of the bond-holders. . . . During the brief period of tranquillity and better government which intervened between the Law of Liquidation and the rise of Arabi the debt was reduced by something like a million; but the revolution and its consequences, more especially the great fire of Alexandria and the disastrous events in the Sudan, added to the burdens of the country an amount nearly ten times as great as that by

which they had been diminished during the brief but delusive period of revival."¹

Such names as M. de Blignières, Sir Evelyn Baring (Lord Cromer), Sir Reginald (Lord) Welby, Sir Charles Rivers Wilson, Sir Auckland Colvin, Sir Edgar Vincent, Sir James Carmichael and Lord Northbrook, will be remembered in the earlier history of Egyptian finance, when heroic efforts had to be made, and were made, to grapple with the situation. Nor will the assistance readily be forgotten which was rendered by Blum Pacha to successive financial advisers during a period extending over fourteen years. The collaboration of the latter did not cease till 1890, long after the ship had weathered the storm.

After repeated negotiations, the London Convention saw the light in March 1885, together with the declaration of even date. The Khedivial Decree of the 27th of July sanctioned the arrangement. It speaks well for the advisers of Great Britain that that Power declined to deal with the question of the Alexandria indemnities, in which France was directly interested, apart from other outstanding liabilities. To this fact and to the concession made to Germany and Russia, by which each was authorised to appoint a Commissioner to the

¹ "England in Egypt."

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Caisse de la Dette,¹ is due the success of the negotiations out of which sprung a loan of nine millions sterling guaranteed by all the Powers concerned. Thanks to this guarantee, the interest of the loan was not to exceed £315,000 per annum. The allocation of one of these millions to the Irrigation service and the fruits which it has borne will be noticed in the chapter on Justice and Water. To a judicious application of this and the remaining eight millions, and to a more or less rigid system of economy, the salvation of the country is practically due.

The signature of the London Convention of the 18th of March 1885 by the six Powers and by Turkey regulated the existing position of Egyptian finance.

“By 1887 all danger of insolvency was over. The efforts of the reformers, notably those of the irrigation officers, began to bear fruit. The period of surplus set in. It was then decided that fiscal relief should take precedence over additional expenditure. The *Corvée*, which was, in reality, a very heavy and objectionable tax, was therefore abolished at a cost of £E.400,000 a year. The land tax was reduced by £E.430,000. The professional tax (£E.180,000), the sheep and goat tax (£E.40,000), the weighing tax (£E.28,000), and sundry

¹ The *Caisse* originated in 1876, and at first consisted of a French, an Austrian, and an Italian member. Great Britain joined the following year. At first the Commissioners represented the creditors as receivers of revenue. They are now practically financial guardians.

small taxes (£E.31,000) were abolished. In all, a reduction of direct taxation to the extent of £E.1,100,000 was accorded. At the same time, the salt tax was reduced by 40 per cent., and the postal and telegraph rates by 50 per cent. The octroi duties were abolished in the smaller provincial towns. The only increase was in the tobacco duty, which was raised from P. T. 14 to P. T. 20 per kilog.

"The period of fiscal relief may be said to have been brought to a close in 1894. It was then thought both possible and desirable to pay more attention than heretofore to the very legitimate demands of the spending departments. Accordingly, money was devoted to remunerative objects such as drainage and railway extension, and also to others, such as the construction of hospitals, prisons, and other public buildings, the improvement of education, &c., which, although not directly remunerative, are equally necessary to the wellbeing of the country."¹

The following notes summarise the statement prefixed to the official statistical returns of Egypt (1881-97) by Sir Elwyn Palmer, who succeeded Sir Edgar Vincent as Financial Adviser to the Khedive in 1889, and continued to hold that office till 1898. The statement gives in a brief space an idea of what progress was made during a period extending over sixteen years.

1. Land tax less in 1897 by £E.85,691 than in 1881.

¹ Official Report on Proceedings for 1897.

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2. Average tax per feddan reduced from £1, 2s. to 18s. 3d. during the same period.

3. Since 1891 the annual tax on land has been reduced by £E.507,600, and other direct taxes by £E.223,000. Indirect taxes amounting to £E.186,000 per annum have been abolished.

4. Revenue derived from the tobacco tax in 1897 was £E.1,044,780 against £E.97,168 in 1881, the increase being partly owing to the raising of the tax.

5. Taxation per head of population in 1881 was £1, 2s. 2d.; in 1897 it was 17s. 9d., a reduction of 20 per cent., the population having increased in fifteen years by 43 per cent.

6. 212 miles of new railway opened. Large development of railway and telegraph traffic.

7. Expenditure on public instruction increased between 1881 and 1897 by over 37 per cent.; increase in number of schools from 29 to 51, and in number of pupils from 5366 to 11,304.

8. Increase in judicial receipts, especially in the case of registration of deeds.

9. Large sums expended of late years on irrigation, that is, on reproductive works. 1700 kilom. of agricultural roads, 2512 kilom. of drains, 3054 kilom. of canals, and 575 kilom. of basin bank constructed in the Provinces.

10. The number of men called out on *corvée* reduced from 281,000 to about 11,000.

11. Increase of more than £E.2,600,000 in imports. Only a slight falling off in the value of exports, notwithstanding the enormous fall in the price of cotton and sugar.

12. Quantity of salt sold doubled, while the price has been reduced by nearly 40 per cent.

13. Tonnage at the port of Alexandria increased from 1,250,000 to 2,270,000.

14. In 1881 the amount of bonds outstanding in the market was £98,376,660; in 1897 it was £98,035,780, notwithstanding £13,219,000 of fresh debt raised to cover extraordinary expenditure, and £3,400,000 increase of capital due to conversion. In the first-named year the interest charge was £E.4,235,921; in 1897 it was £E.3,908,684.

15. In 1881 the market price of the 5 per cent. Privileged Debt was £96½; in 1897 the same Debt converted into 3½ per cent. was £102. The 4 per cent. Unified Debt was at £71½ in the first-named year, and at £106½ in 1897.

16. In 1881 the amount of debt per head of the population was £14, 8s. 9d.; at the end of 1897 it was £10, 0s. 2d.

The accounts for the last three years show the following results :—

	Revenue.	Expenditure.	Surplus.
1897 .	£E.11,092,000	£E.10,659,000	£E.433,000
1898 .	11,348,000	10,864,000	484,000
1899 .	11,415,000	11,013,000	402,000

In sending home the accounts for last year, Lord Cromer remarks :—

"The revenue [in 1899] reached the highest figure yet recorded since the British occupation commenced. Customs, railways, stamps, the post-office—in fact, all

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the heads of the revenue which increase with the growing prosperity of the country—show a satisfactory degree of expansion and elasticity.

“Two large items are included on the expenditure side of the account, viz :—

Conversion of the Debt Economies	.	.	£E.265,000
Paid to the General Reserve Fund	.	.	759,000
<hr/>			
Total	.	.	£E.1,024,000

“On the other hand, a sum of £E.216,000 figures on the revenue side of the account, being the contribution which it was arranged some while ago with the Commissioners of the Debt, should be paid from the General Reserve Fund to make good the loss incurred by reducing the land-tax.

“It is perhaps desirable that I should explain somewhat further the meaning of these remarkable figures. They mean that an artificial system of finance, which originated under circumstances long since obsolete, obliged the Egyptian Government to take from the pockets of the taxpayers in 1899 a sum of no less than £E.1,210,000—or, if the surplus really at the disposal of the Egyptian Treasury be excluded, £E.808,000—more than was necessary to bear the total charge both of interest on the debt and the cost of administration.

“Many instances may be cited of Governments whose finances are, or have been, in a prosperous, and others of Governments whose finances are, or have been, in an embarrassed, condition. Egypt, so far as I know, is an unique example of a country, the financial position of

which is extremely prosperous, but which is debarred by International Agreement from benefiting to the full extent possible from its own prosperity. Year by year, as the large sums now accumulating in the hands of the Commissioners of the Debt grow in amount, the anomalies—to use no stronger term—of the present system become more and more striking and more and more injurious to those in whose interests it was, in the first instance, presumably created. It is difficult to believe that such a system will be allowed to continue for an indefinite period.”

It would be a mistake to suppose that the debt of Egypt was all at once diminished. On the contrary, it was considerably augmented under British occupation, though the increase can hardly be regarded as substantial in view of the fact that it has been generously counterbalanced by reductions resulting from conversion and by continually growing receipts. The Convention of London necessitated a readjustment, and after this had taken place the debt stood at £104,000,000. Taking official figures, the capital amount of debt in the hands of the public reached its highest point in 1891, when it stood at £105,609,100. This was immediately after the conversion of the Preference Stock, which naturally added to the capital of the debt. Since that year and the end of 1899 the debt has been reduced

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by £10,154,100. The subjoined figures show the amount of the debt held by the public on the 31st of December 1897, and the two following years :—

1897.—£98,035,780, making allowance for Bonds amounting to nearly six millions held by the Commissioners of the Public Debt.

1898.—£96,324,600, allowing for a sum of over seven millions held as above.

1899.—£95,550,000, allowing for a sum of nearly seven and a half millions similarly held.

Lord Cromer thus summarises the situation at the beginning of the present year :—

"1. The accounts for 1899, after paying £E.1,024,000 to the *Caisse de la Dette* on account of the Conversion Economies and General Reserve Fund, and after meeting an expenditure, civil and military, for the Soudan, amounting to £E.422,000, show a surplus of £E.402,000.

"2. At the commencement of the current year, £E.3,523,000 stood to the credit of the General Reserve Fund, of which £E.2,182,000 was pledged to expenditure of various descriptions, leaving an unpledged balance of £E.1,341,000.

"3. The Accumulated Conversion Economies amount to £E.3,565,000.

"4. The Special Reserve Fund, after deducting £E.57,000 for expenditure authorised, but not yet incurred, shows a credit balance of £E.243,000.

"5. Deducting a sum of £7,494,000, which is held by the Commissioners of the Public Debt, the outstanding capital of the Funded Debt of Egypt amounts to £E.95,555,000. There is no floating debt.

"6. After making allowance to the extent of £E.350,000 for loss of revenue by reason of the low Nile, the Estimates of revenue and expenditure for 1900 balance, the figures on either side of the account being £E.10,380,000. The facts and figures stated above are sufficient to show that the Egyptian Treasury is in a strong enough position to meet any further temporary loss which may, with any degree of probability, arise from the same cause."

Of the three separate Reserve Funds mentioned in the above summary, (1) the General Reserve Fund can be applied to certain specified objects with the consent of the *Caisse de la Dette*; (2) the accumulated Conversion Economies resulting from the partial conversion of the debt in 1890 cannot be touched without the consent of the Powers; and (3) the Special Reserve Fund is at the disposal of the Egyptian Government.

As regards (2)—the Conversion Economies—it

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may be useful to reproduce Lord Cromer's remarks in sending home the last accounts :—

“This money being invested in Egyptian stock is not wholly unproductive. In fact, as I have pointed out on previous occasions, these accumulations act as a sinking fund, though one of a very expensive and objectionable nature. In the first place, the large sums bought annually by the Commissioners of the Debt, create to some extent an artificial price. In the second place, as the sinking fund grows, it must by an automatic process obviously tend more and more to nullify its own effect. On the whole, it may be said that, inasmuch as the Commissioners of the Debt have no power to utilise for the benefit of the country the large sums standing to the credit of this fund, the system is more hurtful and less, financially speaking, justifiable than that under which money is allowed to accumulate in the General Reserve Fund.”

On a previous occasion, in connection with the accounts for 1898, the following note had been appended :—

“The present system is, from a financial point of view, quite indefensible. There are only two sound methods of dealing with this money. One is to spend it on the development of the country, the other is to pay off debt at par by drawings in the usual manner. Unfortunately, the adoption of either of these measures is impossible without the consent of the Powers.”

Sir Alfred Milner, following previous authorities, has described the fellahin as a primitive peasantry, healthy, industrious after their own fashion, extraordinarily conservative in their habits and traditions, prone to obedience, devoid of initiation, good-humoured, and pacific. In the scale of intelligence they stand high considering the centuries of darkness and oppression through which they have passed. But they lack the strenuousness and the progressive spirit which would characterise any equally intelligent race tilling a less bounteous soil and breathing a more bracing atmosphere. Their wants are few. They are simple and poor, but not poverty-stricken.

As soldier the fellah will be treated elsewhere. He must be regarded here purely as an agriculturist, one of a race of whom a large proportion are small proprietors living on the produce of their fields. The casual tourist travelling up the Nile will probably first make acquaintance with the fellah then and there, for it is almost a law of Nature that the Nile-boat, whether steamer or dahabiyeh, must ground somewhere in the course of the journey, and natives from the bank, by another law of Nature, are requisitioned to assist the crew in floating her again. If any

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one doubts the power of money within certain limits in making people happy, he should see the delight of these simple souls when they receive their honest wage of a few halfpence. A piastre each (2½d.) is to them a mine of wealth. They return to their fields singing and shouting, very much as the rival armies returned to their homes after the battle of Prague—but without the instrumental accompaniment. What becomes of all this money? It is darkly hinted that it is spent, or at least a part of it, in a scene of wild dissipation before the close of the very day on which it is earned. Dates, not to mention sugarcane, are purchased, and the company consume the said luxuries sitting in a circle and telling stories. The rest of the money is kept for a future entertainment. On extraordinary occasions a *fastasia* is resorted to, and the letting off of guns and fireworks will suggest to the traveller moored for the night against the neighbouring bank that a wedding is going on somewhere.

These simple people are not always unthriftly when their own advantage can be brought home to them, but as a class they are more or less liable to fall into the hands of the lurking usurer—Greek or Levantine—and richly deserve what protection the State can afford them. A curious

case is quoted in the official Report for 1895 illustrating the relations which often exist between the money-lenders and the ignorant cultivators :—

“A small cultivator in Upper Egypt borrowed £10 from an European money-lender. In order to obtain the money, he was obliged to sign a bond for £15. He states that for three years he paid £5 at the end of each year. At the end of the third year he was asked to repay the capital sum of £15. This he at first refused to do, alleging that account should be taken of the payments already made. As no written documents other than the original bond for £15 had passed, the annual payments could not be proved. The creditor then threatened legal proceedings. These would have been instituted at Cairo, some 400 miles distant from the residence of both the creditor and the debtor. Rather than go to the expense of a law-suit, the debtor sold his house to the creditor for £61, the price being fixed by the latter, who then deducted £15 on account of the original debt, and £14 for the expenses of sale and transfer. The balance, namely, £32, was then handed over to the debtor. It will be seen, therefore, that besides being obliged to sell his house for a sum which was probably below its market value, the debtor paid no less than £34 in the shape of interest and legal expenses in return for a loan of £10 for a little more than three years.”

It must be borne in mind that the loans contracted by the poorer class of Egyptian fellahin

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are generally for sums under £E.10. The experiment of affording assistance from public funds dates from 1896, during which year the Egyptian Government advanced to the cultivators, as a tentative measure, £E.10,000 in small sums.

On this point Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General (Annual Report for 1899) may well speak for himself:—

“The experiment was sufficient to show both that the Fellahin would willingly avail themselves of whatever facilities could be offered for borrowing at a low rate of interest, and that the practical difficulties in the way of recovering the principal and interest on a number of small loans, though considerable, were not insurmountable.

“The next step taken was to induce the Egyptian Crédit Foncier to lower the minimum amount of its advances to £E.100. This measure was practically unproductive of result, the minimum being still too high to meet the requirements of the mass of the borrowing classes.

“The establishment of a National Bank in 1898 enabled a further experiment to be made under circumstances which were more favourable to success. Indeed, one of the main reasons which induced the Government to assent to the creation of this Bank was a desire to facilitate the treatment of the question now under discussion.

“The Belbeis district in Lower Egypt was chosen

as the field of operations. This district consists of sixty-eight villages. In eighteen of these the land is held by large proprietors. During the spring and early summer of 1899, 1580 advances, amounting in all to £E.4780, were made by the Bank in the fifty villages where the land is held in small lots. These loans were all repayable in the autumn. The result, I am informed by Sir Elwin Palmer, the Governor of the Bank, 'has been thoroughly satisfactory: the whole of the money due in the year was collected by the Government tax-collectors.' . . .

"The debts of the Fellahin may be divided into two distinct categories. In the first place, it is a very general practice amongst the Egyptian cultivators to borrow small sums in the early part of the year and to repay the loan and interest in the autumn, after the cotton has been sold. In the second place, loans larger in amount and of longer duration are, for various reasons, contracted.

"It was obvious that very little would be done to relieve the population generally if the Bank confined its operations solely to the first of these two categories. It is the second class of loan which is most onerous to the population generally, for the rate of interest usually charged by the village money-lenders is so high that the cultivator, having once borrowed money, but too frequently finds himself involved in inextricable financial difficulties as the result of a loan which may originally have been for no very considerable amount of money.

"Guided by these considerations, the Bank consented to make 870 loans, amounting in the aggregate to £E.26,720, and repayable in five yearly instalments,

to the cultivators of the Belbeis district. In all these cases the money was advanced to persons who were already indebted, and who were thus enabled to effect a commutation of their debts on favourable terms.

"It is probable that the business has not so far proved sufficiently remunerative to the Bank to compensate for the very considerable amount of trouble and expense involved in dealing with a number of these petty transactions. This, however, is due partly to the fact that the operations have so far been conducted on a small scale. The expenses, which are considerable, owing to the absolute necessity of employing trustworthy and competent supervising agency, will, of course, proportionately decrease as the operations extend.

"It was felt, however, that no permanent success could be attained unless the philanthropic considerations which cluster round the treatment of this subject were so far discarded as to place the matter on a sound commercial basis, and thus insure to the Bank an adequate remuneration for their capital outlay. The Government therefore consented to allow the Bank, in addition to 9 per cent., which is the highest rate of interest allowed by law [the provisions of which are habitually evaded by money-lenders and their clients], to charge a commission of 1 per cent., which will go to their local agents in the villages. It is estimated that, of the 9 per cent. which will be received by the Bank, about 3 per cent. will go in expenses, leaving a net profit of 6 per cent., from which, however, any loss incurred by bad debts will have to be deducted. . . .

"The Bank has now consented to extend its opera-

tions to three more districts, viz. Miniet el-Kamh, Mit-Ghamr, and Zifta. £E.100,000 will be advanced [in 1900] in these districts, of which £E.25,000 will be devoted to loans repayable within the year. The balance of £E.75,000 will be lent on mortgage, the loans being repayable in five yearly instalments.

"The popularity of the measures recently taken in the Belbeis district is sufficiently shown by the numerous requests which have been received by the Bank from persons residing in districts which have so far not been comprised within the sphere of operations. . . .

"The project is still in an experimental stage. Its ultimate success, considered in the light of a possible solution of a very important and difficult economic problem, depends on whether the majority of the cultivating classes, having once been relieved from any very onerous debts which they may have contracted, will or will not use the comparative financial freedom thus acquired to plunge again into operations from which it will be extremely difficult, if not altogether impossible, to extricate them.

"It would be premature at present to express any confident opinion on this point. Such little evidence as is forthcoming, however, rather points to the conclusion that it is erroneous to suppose that the Egyptian Fellah will almost invariably incur debt up to the maximum amount of his credit. I do not doubt that a certain number of cultivators, after they have commuted debt on which they are perhaps paying interest at the rate of 40 per cent., or even more, into one on which they will pay 10 per cent., will use the margin of income thus rendered available in order to

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contract further debt; but I contend that the present scheme may be considered a success if the number of individuals who adopt this ruinous procedure constitute the exceptions rather than the rule. . . .

“Until of recent years the system of government prevalent in Egypt was certainly not of a nature to encourage thrift. Time will assuredly be required to wean the Egyptian population from habits acquired during the long period when but little respect was shown for the rights of property, and when the demands of the tax-gatherer were not merely excessive, but also uncertain and capricious. . . .

“I know of no reason for holding that, as a class, they are irretrievably thriftless. In any case, no harm can be done by affording them a fair opportunity for shaking themselves free of the debts by which they are but too often burthened, and thus giving them a starting-point for the exercise of economy in the future. Without, therefore, taking a more sanguine view than would be justified by the present facts of the situation, it is permissible to hope that the arrangements now made will be productive of some real benefit to the mass of the cultivators in Egypt.

“Should the operations conducted during the present year afford sufficient encouragement in that direction, it is to be hoped that the sphere of petty loan operations will be gradually extended. In that case, as the sums advanced will be locked up, it will be necessary for the National Bank to increase its capital.”

It has been thought desirable to reproduce this statement almost *in extenso*, as showing the

actual position of the question. A note has been appended to the effect that in the Belbeis district, where the experiment has so far been successfully tried, some applications for loans have been made by cultivators whose credit was already so deeply pledged as to render it impossible to apply any remedial measure. It is added that wherever the security was sufficiently intact to justify a loan money has been advanced.

By Art. II. of the Annex of the 1st of July 1878 to the Constantinople Convention, by which Cyprus passed under British administration, it was provided that a Mussulman resident in the island should be named by the Board of Pious Foundations in Turkey (Evkaf, plural of Wakf,¹ usually called Vakuf in Cyprus) to superintend, in conjunction with a delegate to be appointed by the British authorities, the administration of the property, funds, and lands belonging to mosques, cemeteries, Mussulman schools, and other religious establishments existing in the island. Nothing was done immediately under this article,

¹ Wakf—literally “standing,” “stopping,” “halting”—is a legal term signifying the appropriation or dedication of property to charitable uses and to the service of God. (See Mr. T. P. Hughes' Dictionary of Islam.) Hence an endowment or appropriation, the object of which must be permanent.

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but sometime between 1880 and 1882 a Turkish delegate was named, who continued the investigation with the British representative. The abuse of sending to Stambul the surplus revenues of such of the Vakufs as were really administered had been stopped very early during the British occupation. The result of the inquiry was the discovery of a disastrous state of confusion which it took some years to transform into anything like order.

In Egypt the confusion which has been found to exist has been more difficult to deal with, if only from the fact that any slight interference on the part of the controlling power has been watched carefully by persons who are only too eager to found an accusation that the sacred law of El-Islam is touched or being tampered with. Yet the attempt has lately been attended with success. No signs of improvement were visible till the year 1895, when the Financial Department was authorised to exercise a certain amount of interference with the view of organising a system of accounts and an effectual control over revenue and expenditure. Strong opposition, lasting for more than a year, was shown to the unification of the accounts of all the Wakfs. The accounts, however, were united, and the

result has been the exercise of some effective control over the revenue and expenditure.

Slow but steady progress has been made. From a Report prepared by Harari Bey, the Accountant-General of the Egyptian Government, to whose energy and perseverance much of the improvement is due, it appears that, without over-rating the value of the results obtained in the reorganisation of the Wakfs since the intervention of the Finance Ministry, there is a marked improvement in the various branches of the Administration, and that the foundation-stones for further progress in the future are firmly laid down. When the material work resulting from the bad management of the past years has been satisfactorily finished, other matters of no less importance will be taken in hand, provided that the same liberal ideas prevail in the councils of the Wakfs Administration.

(1) The accounts are now well kept, and thorough confidence can be placed in their accuracy. The revenue of 1899 was £E.229,000, the expenditure £E.180,000, leaving a surplus of £E.49,000. After allowing for certain items of extraordinary expenditure, for which special credits have been granted, the reserve fund showed a credit balance of £E.32,000 at the

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close of last year. The revenue for 1900 is estimated at £E.216,000, the expenditure at £E.184,000, thus showing a surplus of £E.32,000.

(2) The Wakfs Department administers considerable sums of money which have been left in times past to be expended on the maintenance of mosques, the diffusion of education and the alleviation of distress amongst the poorer classes. It is a notorious fact that, until recently, the wishes of the testators who originally created the endowments had been but too often greatly neglected. It is satisfactory, however, to learn that since 1897 the ordinary budget has been increased by £E.19,568 under the heads Mosques, Schools, and Charitable Institutions.

(3) The arrears of rent due to the Department were reduced in the course of last year from about £E.58,000 to about £E.20,000.

(4) One of the worst features of the Wakfs Administration was that beneficiaries could not, without the utmost difficulty, obtain payment of the sums due to them either from the general or the private Wakfs. The sums so due were reduced during the course of last year from £E.94,150 to £E.36,583.

(5) An attempt has been made to deal with *hikrs*, the rent paid to the Wakfs for the

use of certain lands which have been ceded in perpetuity. The sum paid is generally so small as to amount to little more than a quit-rent. There are believed to be some 25,000 to 30,000 payers of *hikr* in Egypt. Manifestly it was desirable to induce the payers of *hikr* to commute their annual rent by payment of a lump sum. Good progress has now been made in this direction. The Wakfs Administration has assessed the value of 10,039 *hikrs*, representing an annual income of £E.6527 at £E.130,540. With this money land has been, or is about to be, purchased. In order to make the exchange of the *hikrs* a success their value was calculated at the smallest possible figure, while the rate of capitalisation of the yearly charge was raised to its maximum. The Finance Department agreed to grant full exemption of all registration dues for the deeds connected with the exchanges, and the Department of Justice consented to simplify to the utmost the legal formalities of the transfers, thus saving to the public both time and money.

Much still remains to be done to improve the administration of this Department. At the same time, the facts stated above show that appreciable progress is being made in the

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right direction, and are of good augury for the future.¹

Many of the most tumble-down houses in Cairo are Wakfs. Unhappily they cannot be sold for cash. The Kadi alone can authorise the transfer of property belonging to a Wakf when he shall have satisfied himself that the new property against which it is proposed to exchange the old is in better condition and produces a better income. Hence, in many cases, nothing can be done.

The Prisons and the Public Health Departments are both due to Mr. Clifford Lloyd, who created them in 1883. Both have done good work, but the substantial reforms are only of recent application, and are largely due to the efforts of Coles Pacha and Sir John Rogers Pacha, each in his respective sphere. Anything more horrible than the state of the Egyptian prisons previous to the institution of the Department which now controls them can hardly be imagined, and the total want of attention

¹ The latter part of the above text, showing the success of the recent endeavours to improve the existing Wakfs Administration, has been condensed from the last official Report on Egypt, given to Parliament in 1900. The extract from Harari Bey is taken from the same Report.

to the most elementary principles of sanitation is almost incredible.

To take the Prisons Department first. Up to some years previous to 1897 the number of prisoners had largely increased, in consequence of the improved efficiency of the Tribunals and the augmentation in their numbers throughout the whole country. The prison budget, however, remained as before. At that time the truly Eastern system of making prisoners provide their own food was still in force in the majority of cases, the budget allowance for food being only sufficient to feed 4000 out of 12,000 prisoners.

The great difficulty in Egypt has been to make imprisonment a real punishment. The disgrace of being put into prison—a factor of considerable efficacy in more advanced countries—was scarcely felt by the mass of the population. The mere confinement in the society of fellow-prisoners, with frequent opportunities of seeing and conversing with friends and relations, was hardly felt as a punishment. Both brought supplies of food. Isolation, which would have had a most salutary deterrent effect, and the maintenance of a severe prison discipline, were impossible without properly constructed prisons.

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Large expenditure was required to remedy the system existing till only a few years ago, and means were not at the disposal of the Government. In 1897, however, a sum of £E.13,000 was allotted out of the General Reserve Fund for prison construction, by which the evils arising from overcrowding were lessened. It was also attempted to increase the resources of the Department by prison labour, and to improve the state of affairs by reducing the number of prisoners. To attain the latter end a law was passed, based on the English ticket-of-leave system, by which prisoners whose conduct in prison had been good, and whose release would not be dangerous, might be allowed to pass the last quarter of their sentences in their own villages under police supervision. The measure seems to have been attended with success. Out of 1699 prisoners conditionally released, only fourteen had been rearrested down to the 31st of December 1898. In the course of that year a law was passed allowing prisoners sentenced to imprisonment in default of fine or costs the privilege of substituting labour for imprisonment, and by the end of the year 40,070 persons had elected to work. The operation of this system has enabled the Department to close the prisons for "contraventions" (petty

offences) both in Cairo and Alexandria. It may sound extraordinary to European ears, but it is true that it has only lately been found possible to remove the evils of a system under which juvenile offenders were mixed with adult prisoners.

The reformatory recently established at Alexandria has been transferred to Cairo, and is favourably reported on.

On the 31st of December 1899 the total number of prisoners was 9221 in the whole country. During the years 1898 and 1899 the prison population decreased by no less than 2464. This decrease is to a large extent due to recent prison legislation. At the same time, the knowledge that prisoners are now called upon to work hard, and that prison life generally is more deterrent than heretofore, has undoubtedly had its effect. The general prosperity of the country has also tended to diminish crime.

Furthermore, in the last two years about £E.52,000 have been spent on building prisons. An additional sum of £E.22,000 will be spent during the present year, mainly on prison hospitals, workshops, &c.

Unhappily, it has been found impossible hitherto to reduce to proper proportions the average death-rate, which is thirty-two per mille.

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The nourishment of prisoners partly by their relations and friends—a not altogether satisfactory arrangement which has been referred to above—has now (1900) almost ceased to exist. The prisoners are to a great extent nourished by their earnings.¹ Last year the gross earnings amounted to nearly £E.22,000. Of this amount £E.11,000 were spent on extra establishments and rations, and £E.10,000 on new material. In the last of three official Reports which have been drawn up in connection with this subject, Lord Cromer concludes as follows :—

“Within proper limits,” the system now prevailing “is unobjectionable, but inasmuch as the Government is unable to provide the money necessary to feed all the prisoners as they should be fed, the prison authorities, from no fault of their own, are almost unavoidably driven, in deciding on the sort of labour which shall be assigned to prisoners, to look almost exclusively to its remunerative character. I trust that when the financial situation becomes somewhat easier than is the case at present it will be possible to apply a remedy to this evil.”

Attempted reforms in sanitation have been nothing but uphill work since the formation of the Public Health Department in 1883. About ten years ago Rogers Pacha, Principal Medical Officer to the Egyptian Army, was appointed

¹ See Appendix V. for prospective arrangements.

Director-General of the Sanitary Department. This officer (who retired in 1899, and was succeeded by Mr. Pinching) has left behind him a record of good work gradually initiated and firmly carried out, the success of which is the more remarkable from the fact that the path of the sanitary reformer has been from the first beset not merely by financial difficulties, but by the passive obstruction of the Wakfs Administration. The opposition of the latter has been broken down, but a special Decree was necessary to enable the Egyptian Government to deal either with the mosques belonging to the Wakfs or with those known as private mosques, *i.e.* mosques belonging to the inhabitants. During the year 1897, eighty-two private mosques were dealt with under the law providing for their improved sanitation, thus bringing the total number treated since the law was passed up to 376. Thirty mosques belonging to the Wakfs Administration and sixty-four private mosques were dealt with in the course of 1898. The improvements in sanitation which have taken place have assumed the form of the abolition of open ablution-basins (*medahs*) and the substitution of reservoirs and taps, and also the construction of cess-pits. The danger to public health of the ablution-basins was particularly demonstrated

during the cholera epidemic of 1895-6, which was only stamped out by extraordinary efforts on the part of the officers of the Sanitary Department. It is stated that at Assiout every mosque in the town was dealt with by the end of 1897, and that this fact was largely due to the energy of the local Egyptian Sanitary Inspector.

By the conclusion of the same year 111 cemeteries had been transferred under the Cemetery Decree, thus bringing the total number of cemeteries treated since the Decree was issued up to 465. To this total must be added 118 cemeteries transferred in 1898. A further Decree has been published substituting boundary pillars for walls, except in special cases. This (Sir John Rogers states) largely reduces the cost of the transfer of a cemetery, which is borne entirely by the community interested. Some further progress took place in 1899 in the direction of the improvement of the sanitary condition of mosques and the removal of old burial-grounds.

What every one who wishes well to Egypt would like to see is the establishment of a good system of drainage in Cairo and Alexandria. The question of the drainage of Cairo has been under consideration since 1890, and was at first factiously opposed by France. In 1891 the Powers

agreed to the increase of the administrative expenditure of the Egyptian Government by one-half of the Octroi receipts of Cairo in order to provide for the drainage of the town. Thus were materially lessened the financial difficulties of the situation, but it has not been found possible hitherto to arrive at a solution. In 1898 the Cairo Water Company had on hand a scheme the total cost of which amounted approximately to £E.750,000. It does not appear from the official Report for 1899 what became of the project. Subsidiary sanitary works have been attended with success, and statistics show that, among other diseases, ophthalmia, still far too common, has decreased. A plan for providing Alexandria with a good system of drainage was finally prepared by the municipality, and bids fair to become a reality. The total cost of the work is estimated at £E.500,000, and an ingenious and rather complicated system has been devised for obtaining the funds necessary for the execution of the project in five years. It will be seen by the last official accounts that designs and estimates for a portion of the work have been prepared and tenders invited.

Every year new dispensaries are opened in the provinces. About 357,000 successful vaccinations

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were made during the year ending the 1st of November 1899, as against 346,000 during the corresponding period in 1897-8. The condition of some of the provincial hospitals is admitted to be still very unsatisfactory, but it is intended to take them in hand as money becomes available. A new hospital on improved lines was completed at Sohag in 1898, and another at Chibin-el-Kom last year. That at Assiout is probably before this time ready for occupation.

Perhaps one of the least satisfactory things in Egypt is the Lunatic Asylum at Cairo, yet it is one on which a large amount of thought has been bestowed. The barbarous state of things which obtained at the time of the British occupation has, of course, ceased to exist, but there is still scope for the reformer. Since the appointment of Dr. Warnoch in 1895 to take charge of the asylum, the percentage of deaths to the average daily number of residents has considerably decreased. A good deal was done in 1899 for the improvement and enlargement of the building, and the *Caisse de la Dette* not long ago granted a special credit for the erection of additional buildings, but some time must elapse before the requirements of the country can be met. For some time also the

system of discharging patients before they are completely cured must be tolerated, and considerable additions must be made before the total abrogation of the practice of keeping criminal and ordinary lunatics in the same building.

Meanwhile, the difficulties are very real with which the Government has to contend in checking the importation of *hashish*, a fruitful source of insanity. The population from Alexandria to Tripoli, a distance of 240 miles, is practically composed of nomad Arabs, and no efforts of the Government can impress upon the Omdehs the importance of setting their faces against contraband and thus checking a lucrative traffic. Lord Cromer, in his Report for 1899, concludes his remarks on the subject as follows:—

“In order to check this traffic, a station has recently been constructed, and a camel corps post established under an officer at Mersa Matrouk, 120 miles west of Alexandria, where an excellent harbour exists. . . .

“It is almost hopeless to expect that the importation of hashish can be altogether prevented. The most that can be done is to render its acquisition as difficult as possible.

“Dr. Warnock's statistics show that of 454 males who were admitted to the Lunatic Asylum in 1899 as insane, 125 were suffering from the effects of hashish.

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The percentage in this year, viz. 27.5, is, however, slightly lower than that of 1898, which was 28.3.

"In Cairo and Alexandria, 902 individuals were sentenced to fines in 1899 for selling hashish, and the establishments of 310 persons were closed.

"The difficulties encountered by the police are scarcely less arduous than those of the Preventive Service, the production either of the hashish itself, or of the pipe, being essential to secure a conviction. The public opinion of the lower class is adverse to the police in this matter, and the maximum penalty only amounts to £E.1.

"Further, a hashish den cannot be ordered to be closed until the offender has been convicted three times within a period of six months. A scheme for the modification of this law is under consideration."

Turning to the subject of Education, we find results much better worth contemplating. Muhammad Ali's educational establishments and his Primary (Higher Grade) and Secondary (Preparatory) Schools were formed chiefly on French models. Before the organisation of these institutions it had become usual for the sons of his officers and officials to obtain their education elsewhere than in Egypt, principally in France; and the practice of sending youths of the better classes for instruction abroad did not cease with the introduction into Egypt of French methods. Under Ismail Pacha schools were multiplied at

home and a new Egyptian school was established at Paris. The radical vice of the old system of cram, of which the University of El-Azhar afforded a striking example, was still perpetuated in Egypt. The necessity of the assimilation of knowledge was only gradually recognised, and physical development, now carefully attended to, was wholly neglected. Under Jaq'ub Artin Pacha, Director-General of Education, a highly cultivated Armenian, great strides have been made in the matter of the general diffusion of knowledge. The improvement has lately penetrated within the very walls of El-Azhar, the authorities of that ancient and hitherto conservative seat of learning having applied in 1897 for the services of thirteen masters, employed in the Government schools, for the purpose of giving instruction to their pupils in mathematics, geography and map-drawing. The lectures on these subjects are voluntarily attended by a large number of students. According to the census of that year 91.2 per cent. of the male and 99.4 per cent. of the female population were then to be classified as illiterates. Allowing for children under seven years of age and for the Bedouins who do not attend the schools, the proportion of illiterates, male and female, is 88 per cent. of the total

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population, thus leaving 12 per cent. able to read and write. Nevertheless the number of pupils in the Government schools during ten years (1888-97) has increased from about 2000 to 11,000. A few years ago more than half the pupils were receiving gratuitous education, while, in the year 1898, 86 per cent. were paying pupils. There has also been a gradual increase in the number of private schools under Government inspection.¹

In a published Despatch addressed by Lord Cromer to the Marquis of Salisbury on the 4th of December 1898 it was pointed out that, save in exceptional circumstances, Europeans could not be employed in the subordinate ranks of the Egyptian service, such employment being reserved for natives of the country. This observation was more especially intended for the benefit of young Englishmen whose thoughts might turn in the direction of Egypt with the hope of finding employment. In his Report for the same year, Lord Cromer wrote in connection with this subject:—

“The class to which the Egyptian Government must look mainly to fill the subordinate—and in some cases, I trust, eventually the superior—ranks of the public

¹ Official Report for 1897.

services, consists of those who have obtained the Secondary Certificate granted by the Department of Public Instruction. (The Primary Certificate qualifies for the subordinate ranks of the public service, but preference is given to those who have obtained the Secondary Certificate.) The results so far obtained are encouraging in this sense, that the desire to acquire the knowledge necessary to pass the examination exists, and that a very fair proportion of the candidates who have presented themselves for examination have obtained certificates. . . .

“If, as I hope and believe will be the case, parents are willing to pay for the tuition of their sons, and if the latter take full advantage of the opportunities for instruction now afforded to them, it will be possible to employ Egyptians for the most part in the various Departments of the State. On the other hand, should these anticipations unfortunately not be realised, it will be necessary, in the interests of the general body of the Egyptian taxpayers, to fall back on the alternative plan of employing a comparatively greater number of foreign agents.”

The following remarks from the Report for 1899 are of great interest:—

“Educational statistics testify both to the ever-increasing desire evinced by parents in all classes of Egyptian society to obtain instruction of various descriptions for their children, and to the enlargement of the sphere of action covered by the Department of Public Instruction. In 1887, only 1919 pupils were under the direct management or inspection of the Department.

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Ten years later, the number had grown to 11,304. The figures for 1898 and 1899 are 19,684 and 23,390 respectively. The school fees, which in 1887 only amounted to about £E.9000, have now grown to over £E.36,000.

"In stating that all classes of Egyptian society share in this intellectual movement, some distinction should be made between Mohamedans and Copts. The Egyptian Government schools are, of course, open to children of all races and creeds, exemption from religious instruction being granted to all who apply for it. It is worthy of note that no community in Egypt is so largely represented in the Government schools, in proportion to population, as the Copts. While the percentage of Mohamedan pupils in the schools and colleges under the Ministry of Public Instruction is less than the percentage of Mohamedans in the total population, the percentage of Coptic pupils in the Government schools is almost treble the percentage of Copts throughout Egypt.

"The following percentages show the relative proportion of Mohamedans and Copts in the Government schools and in the total population respectively:—

Percentage of Mohamedans in total population . . .	92
„ Mohamedan pupils in the schools . . .	78
„ Copts in total population . . .	6
„ Coptic pupils in the schools . . .	17

"These figures would appear to show that the Mohamedan population generally are less fully alive than the Copts to the advantages of education. It would, however, be a great mistake to suppose that the intellectual movement has not also extended to

the Mohamedans. Such is very far from being the case. Indeed, in respect to one point of importance, there are some indications that Mohamedans are disposed to display greater activity than their Christian fellow-countrymen. A short time ago, I visited a school in Upper Egypt, which was numerously attended by both boys and girls, and which has been founded solely by Mohamedan private enterprise. On the other hand, although Coptic parents are eager to avail themselves of the educational advantages provided by the Government schools, they appear, so far as I am able to judge, indisposed to make any direct effort, at all proportionate to the wealth and influence of the Coptic community generally, for the improvement or extension of their own school system. . . .

"The system of giving small grants-in-aid to private Kuttabs, on condition that they submit to Government inspection and control, appears to have produced fairly satisfactory results. The number of these schools which responded to the invitation made to them in 1899 was 403, representing 10,407 pupils, as compared to 301, representing 7534 pupils, in 1898. The funds at the disposal of the Public Instruction Department are, however, at present too limited to allow of any wide extension of this system.

"Female education continues to make slow but satisfactory progress. During the last year (1899), over 1000 girls attended the Kuttabs which are either under the direct management or control of the Department of Public Instruction. The two higher primary schools at Cairo were attended by 229 girls. It is the aim of the Department to make these schools models for imitation by those under private management.

They are both under the direction of an English head-mistress and English second mistress of high professional attainments."

It may be necessary to explain that the Kuttabs are the small schools attached to the mosques in almost every village in Egypt. In 1897 there were 9600 of these schools in Egypt, and an attendance of more than 181,000 pupils. The tuition is admitted to be of no great value. It is given in Arabic, all foreign languages being excluded; but the object in subsidising them is to improve general rudimentary ideas of education over the country, not to supply officials. In this object there is every prospect of success.

There has been, of course, no attempt in this brief sketch to deal with the subject of professional or technical colleges or schools or to enter into the question of private schools, whether Muhammadan, Coptic, or foreign.

Sir A. Milner has pointed out that in nothing was Nubar Pacha's co-operation more cordial or more beneficent than in the long struggle for the suppression of the *corvée*, and that there was no subject on which he expended greater energy. Not all Frenchmen, or rather not all French Governments seem to have thought the *corvée* (the forced labour of the peasantry) the abuse it

was confessed to be by M. de St.-Hilaire,¹ among other writers. It took three years to break down the opposition of France, and the end was consequently not achieved till 1889. The inhabitants are of course not exempt from being called out in any sudden emergency, and a levy is made every year for guarding and repairing the Nile banks during the flood season. Efforts continue to be made by the officers of the Irrigation Department to limit the number of men called out to the lowest figures consistent with safety. The numbers are now much more in agreement with actual necessities than was formerly the case. Lord Cromer has drawn attention to the fact that the men are now placed on the banks at the points where they are really wanted, and are no longer distributed indiscriminately along the whole length of the Nile bank.

The number of watchmen called out during the period of flood in the last six years is shown by the following official figures :—

1894 (High Nile) . . .	49,448
1895 (Medium Nile) . . .	36,782
1896 (Medium Nile) . . .	25,794
1897 (Low Nile) . . .	11,069
1898 (High Nile) . . .	19,405
1899 (Low Nile) . . .	10,079

¹ See page 34.

The abnormally low Nile is largely responsible for the fact that only 10,079 watchmen were called out per 100 days in 1899. This is the lowest number on record. In 1888, the last year in which the flood bears any resemblance to that of 1899, the figures were 58,788 men per 100 days.

Colonel D. Hamill Stewart (11th Hussars), who subsequently accompanied Gordon on his last mission to Khartum in 1884 and was murdered at Hebbeh in September of that year, had been sent to report on the Sudan and the Mahdi in 1882 after the battle of Tel el-Kebir. His Report, dated Khartum the 9th of February 1883 (C. 3670, Egypt, No. 11, 1883), was highly commended by Lord Dufferin. It may be desirable at this point to recall Colonel Stewart's views in connection with the slave traffic. He looked more hopefully to the opening up of the country and to the extension of legitimate trade to bring slavery to an end than to the most stringent Treaties that could be devised. He was convinced that a railway bringing Khartum within easy reach of the Red Sea would be more effective than any other instrument. This consummation has not been brought about, but the desirability of the

construction of a railway from Khartum to the coast viâ Abu Haraz, Gedaref and Kassala has been considered, and, although the proposed line had not been surveyed, the probability of its construction seemed greater at one time than it is now. The certainty of thus tapping the granary of the Sudan (Gedaref) would be a further recommendation, and in process of time it is very likely that the project will be carried out. For the present, after full consideration, it has been thought desirable to postpone action and to devote whatever money may be available to the improvement of the line already constructed between Wady Halfa and Halfeyeh.

As long ago as 1877 Ismail Pacha signed a Convention abolishing slavery, and, although imperfect in many ways, there was enough in its provisions to show that the institution stood condemned. It was provided that the Convention should come into operation in the Sudan in 1889. It is considered probable, however, that even if no rebellion had taken place, this Convention would have had no force. The prospects which it held out were illusory. Gordon, when he arrived at Khartum in 1884, at once saw the impossibility of enforcing the Convention. His declaration was emphatic. He

accepted an evil to which he could apply no remedy.¹

The Slavery Convention, concluded on the 21st of November 1895 between the British and Egyptian Governments, is a great improvement, if only from the fact that under its terms the jurisdiction in slavery cases in Egypt Proper is transferred from courts-martial to a special tribunal composed of five judges chosen from the Egyptian Court of Appeal, of whom it is provided that two, at least, are to be European. The decisions of this Court are final. The arrangement under which offences were tried by courts-martial was quite justifiable at the time. In 1877 there existed in the country no Civil Courts in which confidence could be placed. In the Red Sea, except at Suez, and in the territory subject to Egypt to the south of Assuan slavery cases continue, as heretofore, to be tried by courts-martial.

By this same Convention the punishments which can be awarded to the purchaser and to the vendor are also clearly defined, and the head of the family is rendered responsible for the acts of his harîm.²

¹ Official Reports for 1898 and 1899.

² Official Report for 1895.

Treaties and Conventions sink into insignificance beside the effect which will be produced in the future of slavery by the reconquest of the Sudan.

The following remarks by Lord Cromer, extracted from his Report for 1898, will be read with interest :—

“Steady progress has unquestionably been made of late years in the direction of shaking the hold which the institution of slavery has gained on all Moslem countries. This progress has been specially marked in Egypt. At the same time, I think that those who have borne part in the anti-slavery campaign must constantly have felt that, up to the present time, merely the fringe of the subject has been touched. Such certainly has been my own feeling. It has, for a long time past, been recognised that there are two distinct methods of dealing with the question of slavery. One is to endeavour to limit the demand for slaves. The other is to cut off the supply. It cannot be doubted that the second of these methods is by far the more effective of the two. It would be an exaggeration to say that nothing has been done in the way of limiting the demand. In Egypt, for instance, I believe the idea is gradually gaining ground amongst the slave-owning classes that free is more economical than slave labour. Moreover, I have myself known several cases where the connection between master or mistress and slave was kept up, not because the owner wished to keep the slaves, but because the slaves would not leave the service of the

owner.¹ In spite, however, of the fact that the special difficulties in the way of obtaining slaves in Egypt have developed a certain amount of apathy as regards the continuance of slavery as an institution, it is none the less true that the abolition of slavery by the method of extinguishing the demand for slaves must of necessity be a very slow process, possibly, and even probably, involving the work of generations. The operation entails a complete change in the habits of thought of the population in countries where slavery is sanctioned by law and by custom.

"Under these circumstances, attempts have naturally been made to adopt the alternative method, that is to say, to cut off the supply of slaves. Here again, however, the difficulties to be encountered are very great. It has been found in practice almost impossible to stop all the channels by which slaves can be brought to market. Even in Egypt, where anti-slavery operations have during the last sixteen years been conducted under exceptionally favourable conditions, perfect success has not yet been attained. Cases of slaves being

¹ Lord Cromer's experience that slaves often stand by their masters in Egypt will be endorsed by many Europeans who know the country. The writer well remembers dining at an Arab house in 1898 where he was served by one or two slaves. The explanation was that the slave or slaves had refused to ask for manumission papers, being content to remain as before. Occasionally it happens that a young Mussulman friend of yours will "inherit" a harim, much to the astonishment of many a good Christian ignorant of the fact that a harim has a simple meaning—"the women's quarters." Such a harim will be found to be full of old family retainers whom the inheritor has to maintain. Some of them were formerly slaves and refuse to go out into the world to begin life anew.

imported into the country are, I believe, rare, but I am not at all prepared to say that, in spite of the utmost vigilance, they do not occasionally occur.

"A few cases of kidnapping occurred in Upper Egypt during the past year. The boys and girls are taken down to the Red Sea coast, transported to Arabia, and there sold. I am glad to say that, in some instances, the children were recovered, and the guilty parties brought to justice. It is, however, very difficult to trace the individuals who perpetrate these crimes. They generally belong to the Bishareen or Ababdeh tribes. Since the reconquest of the Dongola Province more Soudanese have found their way into the Assouan district than was formerly the case. The children become an easy prey to the numerous Arabs who are constantly on the watch for a favourable opportunity to kidnap them. There can be no doubt that the traffic in slaves is aided and abetted by the owners of boats who come over from the Arabian coast for the ostensible object of pearl fishing. I am drawing the attention of the Governor-General of the Soudan to this point. There is also no doubt that the Rasheida tribe, who live in Italian territory, take an active part in the traffic. It is believed that about fifty to one hundred slaves are imported annually into the Hedjaz from the coast north of Massowah. They are principally Abyssinians, with a few eunuchs. The information on this subject in possession of the Egyptian Slave Trade Department has been communicated to the Italian authorities.

"There is no difficulty in finding a sale for slaves in Arabia. At Jeddah there are twelve slave merchants.

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Their names are well known. I am informed that the price of slaves is: for a male or female of fourteen years old, about £16; from fourteen to twenty, from £20 to £25; from twenty to thirty, £30. In Mecca and Medina the prices are about fifty per cent. higher."

Manumission papers were granted to about 1000 slaves, male and female, in 1896, and to about 800 in 1897. In 1898, 334 slaves were liberated.

Captain M'Murdo, Director of the Anti-Slavery Department, found it necessary in 1897 to send 100 men of the Camel Corps to Kassala, after its retrocession to the Egyptian Government, with the view of intercepting any slave caravans which might endeavour to reach the coast. It was believed, not without reason, that, in spite of the efforts of the Italian authorities to suppress the traffic, slave caravans had occasionally managed to pass through the country of the Beni-Amer Arabs, always strong supporters of the slave trade, and to reach the coast near Agig, whence the slaves were shipped to Arabia. Since this date Captain M'Murdo has been able to report to Lord Cromer more favourably on the general question. In respect of the work done by the Department last year the report of the Director ran as follows:—

"I am pleased to be able to report satisfactorily on the work done by the Slavery Department in bringing

slave-dealers and kidnappers to justice in 1899. There have been more prosecutions and convictions in that year than there have been for the last five years. This is greatly due to the vigilance exercised by provincial officials and private individuals, who have many times brought to the notice of this Department cases which have come to their knowledge, thus showing the willingness of the people to assist in the repression of slavery. There have been nine cases brought to trial in 1899, and in each case a conviction of one or more of those accused has been obtained; two cases are still pending, making a total of eleven cases during the year. The Turkish officials at Jeddah and Yambo have certainly rendered this Department more assistance than they have ever attempted to do before."

Lord Cromer's latest views on the general subject are expressed as below in his Report for 1899 :—

"Unquestionably, the difficulty of guarding all the routes and outlets over a tract so vast as the Soudan is very great. At the same time it has to be remembered that, although the battle of Omdurman took place early in September 1898, it was not until late in November 1899 that the Khalifa was finally overthrown. Now that the country is practically tranquilised and military operations in the field have ceased, I am hopeful that the Governor-General will be able to take this matter vigorously in hand and check the traffic to which Captain M'Murdo has drawn attention. In the meantime, I observe from a Return communicated by Colonel Maxwell, recently Governor

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of Omdurman, that no less than forty-seven individuals were brought to justice in the course of last year for kidnapping, buying, and selling slaves, &c., and were condemned to various terms of penal servitude or imprisonment.

“The progress in the direction of gradually getting rid of the institution of slavery is certainly greater than, having regard to the very great difficulties which beset this question, I anticipated when I wrote my Report for 1898.”

CHAPTER IV

JUSTICE AND WATER

The Religious Courts—Marriage—Law of inheritance in Cyprus and in Egypt—Mixed Tribunals—National Tribunals: their Improvement—English as a legal language—The case of Malta—Instruction in English—Legal improvements—Additions to Penal Code—Criminal statistics—Land registration on the Torrens system—The Barrage—New weirs—Drainage—The new Barrages at Assuan and Assiout—International fetters—Financial arrangements.

It has been noticed in the second chapter what a poor opinion Lord Dufferin had of justice as it was represented in Egypt at the time of his mission—justice, not merely in the meaning of the decisions of a Court of law, but in its wider sense. In regard to the Law Courts, little was done till 1890 when Mr. (subsequently Sir John) Scott, an eminent Indian judge who had previously served (1874–82) as Judge in the Mixed Court of Appeal in Cairo, was appointed Judicial Adviser to the Khedive. It has of course been found impossible to touch radically the position of the Mehkemeh Shereyieh, or religious Courts, but efforts have been made to

reform them. They have been generally represented as no less corrupt than the lay Courts were before the latter were taken in hand. The decisions of the Mehkemeh Courts are chiefly confined to such questions as personal status, marriage, divorce, alimony, charge of children, and inheritance. They are also occupied in drawing up acts of transmission of real property, but their competency in this matter has been limited by the organisation of bureaux concerned with registration and notarial deeds in the offices of the Mixed Tribunals.

Muhammadan law does not admit either social or juridical equality between Christians and Muslims. Hence in the Mehkemeh the testimony of a Christian is legally inadmissible. This rule is absolute and, at the most, in cases where non-Mussulmans have been concerned it will be found that the evidence of the latter has been received simply as a deposition. Against a Muslim no Christian evidence would be admissible. This is quite natural from a Muhammadan point of view, and is Qoranic. An Egyptian lawyer, explaining to the author the question of evidence admitted in these courts, asked, "*Est-ce que le témoignage des papistes est admis dans les tribunaux anglais?*" The

inquiry probably referred to some supposed religious Court or Courts in Great Britain, and is only worth recording as showing how impossible it is for a Muhammadan, unless he has mixed freely with Europeans, to realise the idea of religious equality. Those who are acquainted with other systems are, of course, fully aware that European legislation attaches no importance to religious confessions.

A Muslim may marry a Christian woman, and such marriages occasionally take place, but a marriage between a Muslim woman and a Christian is not allowed. Frequently, but not always, the wife adopts the religion of her husband before marriage. The question of mixed marriages before the religious jurisdictions has caused some trouble. Mr. M'Ilwraith, who succeeded Sir John Scott as Judicial Adviser to the Khedive in 1898, states in his Report for last year¹ that cases occur where an Englishwoman, fresh from home and entirely ignorant of local laws and customs, goes through a form of marriage before the Kadi with some Egyptian gentleman, is presented with an imposing document purporting to be her marriage lines, and imagines herself as securely and irrevocably united to him as if

¹ *Supplément au Journal Officiel*, No. 29, 14 Mars 1900.

the ceremony had been performed in London by an English clergyman. It has now been arranged with the Grand Kadi that the Mazouns of all the Mehkemehs are to be instructed that, whenever they are asked to unite a Christian or a Jewish woman to a Mussulman, they shall insist upon her personal attendance before them, and shall explain to her the provisions of the Qoranic Law in regard to polygamy and divorce before they permit her to sign the register. The marriage certificate for such mixed marriages is also to contain a printed summary of these provisions. The extreme instability of such unions will thus be brought home to the non-Mussulman wife.¹

A Christian cannot inherit from a Mussulman, but the rule is not one-sided, as the same disability exists where the question might arise of

¹ The question of the validity in the United Kingdom of such marriages for purposes of inheritance remains, of course, where it was. It was decided in 1880, *in re Bethell*, that a marriage though made between persons who are not Christians, e.g. Japanese, is a valid marriage according to English law, if under Japanese law one man unites himself to one woman for life to the exclusion of all others. But a union formed between a man and a woman in a foreign country is not a valid marriage according to English law unless it be the voluntary union *for life* of one man and one woman to the exclusion of all others. The question does not seem to have been carried to the House of Lords on appeal. References to this case will be found in Dicey's "Conflict of Laws," ed. 1896, p. 639.

the power of a Mussulman to inherit from a Christian.

The legal difficulties have been much less in Cyprus, where we have had a comparatively free hand, in respect of the reform of the tribunals as we found them. The Cyprus Courts of Justice Order, 1882, abolished the then existing civil Courts, and created new ones—a Supreme Court and district Courts in each *caza* or administrative division, assize Courts and magisterial Courts, but the Muhammadan religious tribunals were by the same Order retained, though restricted to the cognisance of religious matters concerning persons of the Mussulman faith. In the lay Courts it is specially provided that all persons are competent to give evidence in all cases. The law of inheritance remains as it is still in Muhammadan countries of the Hanifita rite.¹

(1) The land of a Mussulman (Ott. Land Code, § 109) cannot pass by inheritance to his children, father or mother non-Mussulman; the land of a non-Mussulman cannot similarly pass to his children, father or mother Mussulman; a non-Mussulman cannot have the right to *tapu*.²

¹ One of the four Orthodox rites of the Muhammadan religion.

² *Tapu*, the earliest meaning of which is an act of homage, is in effect the possessory title, indicating the tributary state of the land-title, which it is necessary to renew under certain con-

in the land of a Mussulman; and a Mussulman cannot have the right to own in the land of a non-Mussulman.

(2) The land of an Ottoman subject (§ 110) does not pass by inheritance to his children, father or mother, who are foreign subjects, and a foreign subject cannot have the right to *tapu* in the land of an Ottoman subject.

(3) The land of a person (§ 111) who has abandoned the Ottoman nationality does not pass by inheritance to his children, father, or mother, who are Ottoman or foreign subjects. It becomes vacant by the act of abandonment, and without seeking the possessors of the right to *tapu* it is put up to auction and given to the bidder. The authority, however, of this latter article has been modified by a law passed at the end of 1868 concerning foreign subjects who become successors to property, which law is understood to apply to the whole Ottoman Empire.

ditions named in the text, thus establishing the permanence of the right of conquest. The power of delivering these titles was handed over for a time in Cyprus to the Sipahis and afterwards resumed by the Government, which continues to deliver them under the same conditions as heretofore. In practice *tapu* is a possessory title granted against a payment called *mu'ajele*, i.e. payment in advance of a certain sum, by which payment the right of enjoying and transmitting by inheritance is given to the holder and to his heirs according to law. These titles are granted indiscriminately to both Muslims and Christians.

Curiously enough, the above provisions respecting inheritance do not apply to Egypt, where property and the division of property are transmitted *entre vifs* without regard to the nationality of the parties concerned. The Cypriote regulations are, nevertheless, worth recording as illustrating the difference of administration in various parts of the Muhammadan world.

To return to the religious Tribunals of Egypt. The procedure in these Courts leaves much to be desired. In 1897-8, at the instance of Sir John Scott, the Grand Kadi consented to a measure introducing a reasonable system of procedure of plaint, reply, hearing, judgment, appeal, and execution.¹ Previous cases resting with these tribunals had been shelved for years. In 1898-9 a further reform was proposed which, if adopted, would have added to the final stage in the Mehkemeh Courts—the Appellate Court—two Muhammadan judges from the ordinary lay Court of Appeal. These were to be lawyers trained in Muhammadan and European systems, and holders of a legal diploma. The existing members of the Mehkemeh had only studied the Qoran and

¹ The latter, or rather the want of it, is still a source of complaint. Execution is left to the care of the administrative authorities.

its commentaries at the University of El-Azhar in Cairo, where the theory that the sun goes round the earth is still taught.¹ No new nominations were to be made unless the candidate had a diploma from the University or from the School of Science (*Dar el-Oloum*),² and could satisfy the Board of Selection as to his competency. The reforms of procedure were excellent as proposed, but they could be of little avail unless the *personnel* of the Courts could be improved. The proposal in question was accepted in 1899 by the Council of Ministers under the presidency of the Khedive, but the matter had to go before the Legislative Council, by which the intended addition of two trained laymen to a Court composed exclusively of Muhammadan *ulema* was rejected as contrary to religion—contrary to the Qoran. The Khedive and his Council could still have passed this measure of reform in spite of the Legislative Council, but, on the advice of Lord Cromer, no steps in this direction were taken in

¹ See Sir John Scott's letter to the *Times*, dated 19th of April 1899.

² *Oloum* is the plural of *elm* (science). In this school, besides Arabic, some notions of modern sciences are taught, including mathematics, physical and natural sciences, and also history and geography.

Alim means a learned man; the plural of which is *ulema*, or, in classic Arabic, *Ulama'a*.

order not to wound the susceptibilities of a section of the people. It was judged more prudent to appoint a commission, composed partly of *ulema* and partly of laymen, to study the question and to propose the most urgent reforms.

Ordinary native Tribunals have only criminal jurisdiction, and decide in cases of civil disputes. The Mehkemehs must still decide such questions as have been specially reserved for them. A plainer remedy against resistance would be that the Mehkemehs should be absorbed by the native Courts, questions of personal status being strictly reserved for a Muhammadan Chamber, but we seem to be a long way from this consummation. It is owing to the public complaints of Muhammadans themselves that the Anglo-Egyptian Government has been forced to take action in the matter. Mr. M'Ilwraith's report for 1898 shows that the religious Courts have displayed a marked disinclination to depart in any way from their traditional methods of procedure. But in one point, at least, an attempted reform has been successful. It was found that the repository of their archives contained piles of crumbling mildewed documents, some dating probably from the Middle Ages,

which were heaped up in every corner of the room without any attempt at arrangement or classification. With the consent of the Grand Kadi, the Ministry of Justice detached a certain number of employés for the purpose of proceeding to a general clearance and classification of these records, and this action has already borne good fruit both in Cairo and in the provinces. The new Grand Mufti of Egypt, Cheikh Muhammad el-Abdur, devoted the whole of the summer of 1899 to an inspection of the Mehkemehs of Lower and Upper Egypt, and his exhaustive report upon their condition and upon the reforms which seem to him desirable are under the consideration of the Commission. Lord Cromer wrote in his Report for 1898: "If the Mehkemehs could be placed on a really sound footing by Egyptian agents acting on the impulse afforded by a spontaneous expression of Egyptian public opinion, it would do more to convince the world of the self-governing capacity of the Egyptians than any somewhat irrelevant declamation."

Fifteen nations—thirteen in the Old and two in the New World—possess Capitulations with Turkey, and the subjects or citizens of these nations enjoy what is practically extra-territoriality, a privilege which is very frequently abused.

A step in the right direction was made in 1876, when, principally through the support of Nubar Pacha, the Court of Mixed Tribunals first saw the light. It must be borne in mind that at this period no indigenous Law Courts, deserving of the name, existed in Egypt. All the Powers represented by the Capitulations except Brazil—which had no interests in Egypt—concurred in the establishment of a law by which one strong international jurisdiction would supplant others. No one will deny that this jurisdiction has been of great use to foreigners in Egypt, and that it has successfully held in check the tendency to administrative despotism. On the other hand, the complaint is unfortunately true which has been brought against the Mixed Courts that they have sometimes encroached upon their jurisdiction, notably in 1897, when France and Russia reviewed the decision of the majority of the members of the Caisse in respect of a grant of £E. 500,000 from the General Reserve Fund in aid of the Dongola expedition. In point of fact, this action on the part of France proved to be one of the greatest mistakes which she could have made. Funds were absolutely necessary for the prosecution of the campaign, and were immediately supplied by Great Britain. Subsequently, the total advance made by Her

Majesty's Government, amounting to £E.780,000, in connection with the reconquest of the Hinterland was remitted. The possibility of the recurrence of a dog-in-the-manger policy would, of course, have made the renewal of the existence of the Mixed Tribunals for the usual period of five years out of the question, from the point of view of the controlling Power. The path was intended to be smoothed by a Decree, approved by the Powers, and signed by the Khedive on the 14th of November 1899, whereby in future a majority of the members of the Caisse can grant any sum to the Government from the Reserve Fund. Unanimity among the members of the Caisse thenceforth became unnecessary except for granting extraordinary war credits or costs of expeditions. This arrangement appears to have been considered satisfactory, for, by a further Decree, to which the Khedive affixed his signature on the 31st of January last, the existence of the Mixed Tribunals, which had been only continued for a year in 1899, has been secured for the ordinary term of five years, dating from the 1st of February 1900.

But no misapprehension ought to exist as to the point decided by the Court of Appeal in December 1897. A difference of opinion had

arisen among the members of the Caisse in regard to the proposal to apply a portion of the General Reserve Fund to defray military expenditure in the Sudan. The Court did not express any opinion whether the view of the majority could override that of the minority. The question was indeed submitted to the Court, but no decision was given on the point. It was held that, irrespective of the number of votes on one side or other, the Caisse had exceeded its powers. Thus the action of the majority, as pointed out in the Reports of Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General, would have been illegal even if the vote had been unanimous. The special issue of how far a majority of the Commissioners can overrule the opinion of a dissentient minority remained in the same position in which it stood before the judgment delivered in 1897. The question has now been set at rest, but the Decree of November 1899 specially provides that the Caisse shall not authorise any extraordinary expenditure out of the Reserve Fund unless, after deducting such expenditure, a sum of £E.800,000 still remains available, and free from all obligations.

In view of the great improvement which has taken place in the National Tribunals under British guidance, the question has been raised

by no less an authority than Sir John Scott¹ whether the time is not approaching when England and Egypt might together announce, as France did alone with regard to Tunis, that the necessity has ceased for a system of International Courts.

The abolition of these Tribunals would of course involve by the same stroke the abolition of Capitulations and of the Consular Courts. The latter are invested with civil and criminal jurisdiction in regard to their own nationals, though matters connected with real estate, even among foreigners of the same nationality, have already been handed over to the Mixed Courts. If any question of the disappearance of the International Courts were seriously contemplated, it would no doubt be necessary to increase, as France increased in Tunis, the foreign element in the Justiciary. It would be equally necessary to guarantee respect for Muhammadan Tribunals, whose judges would remain as they are. All those who are interested in Egypt would be glad to see the country invested with full judicial power and relieved of the incubus of an International Judiciary composed of British, French, German, Austrian, Italian, Russian, American, Greek, Spanish, Portuguese,

¹ See letter inserted in the *Times* of the 13th of February 1899.

Belgian, Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish delegates nominated by their respective Governments.

This question has been shelved for the present, and there are five years to think about it, during which period the National Courts will have time to improve still more, and will be tried in the furnace of public opinion.

The further question of the liberty to plead in the language spoken by the Controlling Power has yet to be settled. At present French, Italian, and Arabic are the only languages recognised by the Mixed Tribunals, and French very largely predominates. It is admitted that the exclusion of English acts detrimentally where British and American litigants are concerned, and not unnaturally forms the subject of complaint. It is, in fact, an acknowledged grievance, which cannot be remedied in a day, and will probably die out as the knowledge of English becomes more widely spread. The percentage of pupils learning French in Egypt as compared with pupils learning English in 1889 was 74 to 26, taking together the Primary and Secondary Schools, Technical Schools, and Colleges of Agriculture and Professional Colleges. The percentage in 1898 was 33 pupils learning French against

67 learning English. In 1899, 1201, or 22 per cent. of the pupils in the schools and colleges belonging to the Public Instruction Department were studying French, against 4401, or 78 per cent., learning English. Yet it cannot be said that any effort has been made to place obstacles in the way of French tuition; indeed the number both of French teachers and of Egyptians employed in teaching French has been more than doubled since 1881. Parents have simply been requested to state in writing which language they wish their sons to be taught, and their choice has been unfettered. English has been placed on the same footing as French, except in one notable exception—the School of Law—where the only European language used hitherto has been French. Provision was, however, made in the estimates of 1899 for the establishment of an English section in the School of Law. During that year three English Jurists possessing the necessary qualifications were appointed to be lecturers. Last October thirty-seven students entered the School, of whom seventeen joined the English and twenty the French section. A course of instruction in French will be followed by students on the English side of the School for a space of three years, to enable them to consult

French works on law. Their examination at the end of the first three years will include both written and oral tests in the French language. A standard and authoritative commentary in English on Egyptian Civil Law is in course of preparation.¹ At present, at least, it is not likely that lawyers would desire to plead in English, as only a small number of the judges are acquainted with that language. The change would require the unanimous assent of all the Powers which have adhered to the Mixed Tribunals.

Wise forbearance has been shown by Great Britain in Malta, where no foreign interests have to be consulted, and where pleadings in English have not been and are not now allowed, though the Maltese Islands have belonged to the British Crown for 100 years. Only quite recently has Her Majesty's Government found it possible to provide by Order in Council, dated the 7th of March 1899, that, in view of continued and increasing inconvenience, the use of English shall, in cases specified, be permissible in the Courts instead of Italian—a foreign language.² The circumstances

¹ Lord Cromer's Reports for 1898-9.

² Some years ago it might have been necessary, and perhaps may be now, to remind the reader that the lasting relic left of the domination of the Arabs in Malta (about 870 to 1090 A.D.) is the Maltese language—wholly remote from Italian—of which nearly

which immediately brought about this crisis were of an unfamiliar, not to say of a humorous type. Notice has been given that in fifteen years from the 22nd of March 1899 English may be substituted for Italian as the legal language. No doubt English will eventually take a recognised position also in the Egyptian Law Courts, but the motto of those who press for the change should be "*Festina lente.*" A more pressing grievance exists at the present moment in the fact that considerable expense is caused to British subjects and American citizens desiring to obtain legalised translations of English documents. What could be done for the moment has been done by M. Maurice Bellet, President of the Court of Appeal, on the representation of Lord Cromer. A Circular was issued on the 17th of June 1898 requesting the Presidents of the various Tribunals to dispense with translations whenever such a course could be adopted.

As regards the Native Courts, the reforms must be regarded largely from the native point of view. Many wise and useful reforms were accomplished by Sir John Scott. Procedure was simplified and all the words are Arabic and conform to the rules of Arabic grammar. A Maltese proceeding to Syria or Egypt has no need to learn a new language. He speaks already a dialect of the same tongue, and, in some respects, a purer one.

rendered quicker. More than forty-five Courts of Summary Justice have been disseminated over towns and provinces, the effect of which has been to render justice more expeditious and more accessible. The purification of the magistracy, attained gradually, has ended in the existence to-day of a body incomparably better than that which existed previously, whether viewed from the standard of integrity or of efficiency. The new judicial tariff, which came into force late in 1897, considerably reduced legal costs but not the receipts of the Tribunals, as the number of important cases brought before the Native Tribunals has materially increased. "These facts," writes Lord Cromer in his report for 1898, "seem to point to the conclusion that the tendency which previously existed among the Egyptians to bring their suits, if possible, before the Mixed in preference to the Native Tribunals, was due to fiscal considerations rather than to any want of confidence in the Native Courts." In the year 1897 two important changes had taken place. One concerned the agents through whom justice was administered, the other involved an alteration in the substantive Criminal Law. The number of cases brought before the Summary Tribunals in 1899 was nearly 12,000 more than

in 1898, notwithstanding the fact that a very large number of petty cases were decided by the village Omdehs (mayors).

The experiment of placing native lawyers in succession to a Belgian lawyer as *Procureur-Général* was found to be premature and not altogether successful, and it became necessary to revert to the plan of filling the post by a European.¹ Since the appointment of Corbet Bey, a distinct improvement has been noticed in the working of the Parquet, which may be described as the Prosecutor-General's Department. As regards changes in the Criminal Law, the punishment of death for murder could, under Article 32 of the Code, only be inflicted if the accused confessed his crime, or if the evidence of two eye-witnesses could be obtained. The use of torture to insure confession was thus encouraged, and circumstantial evidence had to be set aside. It is believed, however, that torture was very rarely applied. It was rather to reinforce the penal system that the article in question was abolished a very few years ago.

In other Muhammadan countries (*e.g.* Turkey), crimes punishable with death are proved according to the ordinary law of evidence. Since the

¹ Report of Sir John Scott on Native Tribunals, Cairo, 1898.

repeal of Article 32, murder is subject in Egypt to the general rules of evidence which apply to other crimes.

Many minor points for which the Penal Code made no provision have now been dealt with—*e.g.* (1) railway accidents, the result of criminal outrage; (2) escape from custody without prison-breaking or other violence, which was formerly no crime at all; (3) acts of vagabondage; and (4) the crimes of tearing up your neighbour's crops, or (5) poisoning his cattle—the two latter being sufficiently common among the fellahin in cases of vengeance. The entire revision of the Penal Code upon a more reasonable basis has been taken in hand.

While misdemeanours are apparently on the increase, owing probably to the greater vigilance of the police and the general effectiveness of criminal repression, the state of real crime continues to show improvement. The statistics of misdemeanours during the last three years are as given below :—

1897	36,909
1898	37,760
1899	39,713

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Criminal statistics for the same period are:—

1897	1,424
1898	1,342
1899	1,253

The prison population has considerably decreased in the last two years. The knowledge that prisoners are now called upon to work hard, and that prison life generally is now less easy than it was formerly, has no doubt contributed to this result. Brigandage has practically ceased to exist.

Fresh regulations, modelled on recent Continental reforms, have been introduced affecting the conditions under which new companies will in future be formed to do business in Egypt, and the penal jurisdiction of the Mixed Courts has been extended to the offences of simple and fraudulent bankruptcy. The system of registration of title on the principle of the Torrens system also engaged the attention of the Ministry of Justice during the year 1899. There are at present three distinct categories of registry offices—those of the Mixed Tribunals, those of the Mehkemehs, and those of the Native Courts—all three established for the purpose of registering deeds connected with land and other documents of title to

real property. It will be a happy day for Egypt when the Torrens system of registration, the advantages of which are now very generally recognised, becomes the sole system recognised in that country. Our hearts go out to meet such a consummation. The intention of the original Act, introduced into South Australia by Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Torrens, first Premier of the Colony, was to substitute title by public registration for the cumbrous system of the old conveying. The measure became law in 1858, and by 1862 it was practically adopted throughout Australia. The system is so simple that it is extraordinary that it has not had more general application. The principles are gaining ground in France, and largely elsewhere on the Continent. It has been adopted in the Congo Free State. A very similar system has been introduced by the French in Tunis, and a projected extension of the institution to Algeria is under consideration. "Under this system no registration can take place without previous investigation. Every ostensible owner of land, once on the register, is the true owner as regards third parties, and his dealings for value with such parties are not affected by any flaw in his own title. Moreover, the index of the registers being kept according

to the description of the property, searches are easy, and even where, under particular circumstances, the registration has been made under the name of the proprietor, the harmony which is scrupulously maintained between the registers and the Survey materially obviates the inconvenience of the practice.”¹

The points mentioned above are the most salient in the direction of improvements, real and projected, but of course legal reforms have not yet assumed their final shape.

The question of water is one for which any Power controlling the destinies of Egypt must be called upon to render a strict account, for on this, above all others, depends the vitality of the whole country. It may be worth while to recall here Lord Dufferin's view of the requirements of the situation in 1883:—

“The wealth of Egypt springs from the soil, whose fertility is entirely dependent upon irrigation. Year after year the Nile conveys in its affluent waters richer treasures than did ever the fabled Pactolus. A proportion—but only a small proportion—of these have in all times been intercepted and spread by artificial means over the level lands which subtend its course, while the remainder are engulfed by the

¹ Report of the Judicial Adviser to the Khedive for 1899.

sea. There can be no doubt that if a complete and scientific scheme of canalisation and irrigation were adopted, not only could Egypt be rendered independent of the caprices of her river, but its fertilising forces, which are inexhaustible, might be carried into districts which, though now desert, only require the presence of water to blossom like a garden. In this way she might increase her territory by thousands of acres, and swell her revenue to an extent which would reduce her present debt to insignificance. Unfortunately, even the existing service is inefficient. The most necessary works are neglected; the *corvée* is carried out in a manner which not only inflicts the greatest hardship on the peasantry, but obtains a minimum of result for a maximum of effort; the poor suffer from the unequal distribution of the water, which is doled out to them by corrupt officials; while on all sides it is admitted that the crops of sugar and cotton are becoming lighter every season, and that the area of cultivated land is annually diminishing, in the teeth of an expenditure of £187,434 per annum on the canals.

"The control of the irrigation works and of the distribution of water is in the hands of native engineers, who are directly subordinate to the Ministry of Public Works, and it is in the practical operation of this system that the principal abuses occur. The chief points which require consideration in the irrigation service are the execution of new and the repair of existing works, and the control and distribution of the water."

No one could for a moment suggest that this important question was neglected before the

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British occupation. If Great Britain has been successful, the success is chiefly due to the fact that she has had a free hand and has assumed the power of direction. One of the great and good works initiated by France in Egypt was the Barrage, fourteen miles down-stream from Cairo. The construction of this work was, according to Clot Bey, foreseen as a necessity by Napoleon at the time of the French occupation.¹ The subject has already been extensively handled, but the following are, roughly speaking, the essential points. Muhammad Ali first took up the idea at a time when both Lower and Upper Egypt were irrigated under the basin system, *i.e.* by inundation, and depended on the height of the flood for water. A complete change in the canal system became necessary with the development of cotton cultivation in Lower Egypt on a large scale. Cotton which requires protection from inundation, could not be grown as winter crops were grown under the basin system—such as wheat, barley, beans and clover—on lands from which the Nile flood had retired after inundation.

¹ "History of the Barrage at the Head of the Delta of Egypt," by Major R. H. Brown, late R.E., C.M.G. (Cairo, 1896), whose narrative has, as far as possible, been followed in outline.

Planting and irrigation before the rise of the Nile in the case of cotton had also to be considered. It had become necessary to embank the branches of the river, and to dig deep canals with the view of conducting the low-level waters of the summer Nile near to the spot where crops had to be irrigated. The old system of lifting water by pumps, sakiehs, and shadûfs¹ had become wholly insufficient for the purpose. Success depended on the possibility of damming up the Nile at the apex of the Delta. In 1833 Muhammad Ali began to lay the foundations of such a dam across one branch of the Nile, only to abandon the work in a year or two. The renunciation of the scheme was, no doubt, a blessing to the country as it was one-sided, and, if it had been successful, would have improved the Damietta branch and starved that of Rosetta and, with it, Alexandria.

To M. Linant de Bellefonds Bey (afterwards Linant Pacha), at that time in charge of the Irrigation of Upper Egypt, belongs the credit of having pointed out the probable consequences of this arrangement. He proposed as an alterna-

¹ Perhaps the reader hardly needs to be reminded that by a sakieh water is lifted by means of oxen. A shadûf is worked by manual labour.

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tive the construction, across the breast of either branch, of a Regulating Barrage intended to command the distribution of water by the two branches in summer, leaving a free passage for the river during a flood. The bare proposal was accepted with enthusiasm by Muhammad Ali, and a commission was appointed to consider M. Linant's proposals. It is unnecessary to dwell, where others have dwelt fully, upon the preservation of the Giseh Pyramids, the destruction of which was decreed by the terrible Pacha to furnish stone for the intended Barrages. To Linant is probably owing the continued existence of the Pyramids as we see them to-day. The result of the Commission working with him was a report to the effect that a more economical arrangement might be made.¹ On another point a difference of opinion divided the Commission into two camps, but finally the project favoured by M. Linant among others was accepted, and a decision was arrived at involving the construction of open Barrages across the two branches

¹ "Linant Pacha proved to the satisfaction of the Viceroy that owing to the building of the Pyramid from the bottom upwards it would be necessary to dismantle it from the top downwards, and consequently more costly than the opening of new limestone quarries on the banks of the Nile near Cairo."—"Egyptian Irrigation," by Mr. W. Willcocks, C.M.G., p. 257, ed. 1899.

of the river as near as possible to the head of the Delta.

The rejected scheme need only be referred to as one which would have caused the flood to pass over the dam and also through a large opening at each end of it, free in the flood season and closed during the summer, on the principle of the anicuts with their under-sluices as constructed in India. The English element gave its support to the lost project, not improbably influenced in its favour by what had been done with success in India, where, however, the conditions were different.

The preliminary works in connection with the accepted project were commenced by *corvée*-labour towards the end of 1833. In 1835 the plague broke out and continued for four months, necessitating the suspension of the works. Nevertheless, in the middle of the last-mentioned year M. Linant was able to present to the Viceroy complete designs for the Barrages, and with them the necessary estimates. Both were accepted, but the Viceregal interest in the subject had flagged, and though a Commission was appointed which declared in favour of M. Linant's proposals, Barrages, according to Muhammad Ali, were not wanted.

In 1842, M. Mougel, afterwards Mougel Bey, then engaged in constructing a graving-dock in Alexandria, proposed to Muhammad Ali another system for carrying out the construction of the Barrages combining a scheme of fortifications, which scheme probably tickled the military instincts of the Viceroy. In short, M. Mougel was ordered to prepare his project, and Linant was called upon to hand over his complete plans. In January 1843 Mougel's project, which was intended to provide for a six-metre head of water, was laid before the Conseil des Ponts et Chaussées. Notwithstanding the opposition of the Council to the project, the Pacha, with his usual impetuosity, adopted it, and with certain modifications the Barrage of to-day is Mougel's creation. The work for eight years after the acceptance of the project, that is, till 1851, was carried on fitfully.

The Damietta Barrage was first begun, and probably it was and is the best part of the work, as it was practically built in the dry. The Rosetta branch was more difficult, and this was not begun till June 1847. Here the work was impeded and thousands of pounds were wasted owing to the Viceroy's recklessness and impatience. The Barrages must be completed

and 1000 cubic metres of concrete must in any case be laid daily, and Mougel had no choice but to carry out the Viceregal orders. The lime of the concrete mixture was carried away by the current, and thus the concrete lost the ingredient which gave it the property of setting. Springs which were of considerable strength found their way through the remaining material upon which the Barrage was to be founded. There was no hope of a solid foundation.

Muhammad Ali died in 1849. His grandson and successor, Abbas Pacha, would fain have abandoned the work in 1852 and, but for public opinion, would probably have done so. In the following year he dismissed Mougel and ordered him to hand over to Mazhar Bey the incomplete work, of which hardly any of the piers had risen above water level. Up to this time (1853) it was estimated by Linant that the work had cost £1,880,000 sterling, exclusive of the labour of the *corvée* and soldiers. In spite of the report of a Commission condemning the condition of the concrete floor, work was continued without the application of a remedy to the defects of the foundations. Piers now rose, and the whole superstructure of road, pathways, parapets, and turrets was completed in 1861, and a sum

almost similar to that mentioned above was expended on the "completion." The total expenses cannot of course be gauged accurately as no accounts exist, but it has been stated, on official authority, that the Barrages, fortifications, canals, heads, &c., are considered to have cost the country £4,000,000 up to the date of completion.¹

The Rosetta Barrage has sixty-one arches and two locks; the Damietta branch had originally seventy-one arches, but the number was subsequently reduced to sixty-one by Colonel Western, of whom later. This arrangement was not, of course, the originally accepted design, which provided for a larger number of arches and a navigable channel intended to be left always open in the centre of each Barrage.

Yet, so far, after the completion of the superstructure, the work was practically useless, the Damietta branch not being even supplied with gates. What was finished was closed in 1863, after which a settlement took place. A further accident occurred in 1867 in a section of the Rosetta branch. Commissions continued to sit, notes were written, professional experts were called in

¹ "Egyptian Irrigation," p. 258, ed. 1899, by Mr. W. Willcocks, quoted previously.

and reports were submitted, but nevertheless Rousseau Pacha, then Director-General of Public Works, in his report on Irrigation for 1883 condemned the structure except as a distributor of the river discharge. To this use the Barrages, or rather the Rossetta branch alone, might be turned at a further estimated cost of £400,000.

In the course of the same year the care of the Irrigation and Works Department was entrusted to Colonel (now Sir Colin) Scott Moncrieff, and in December Mr. Willcocks, who came from India to join the Egyptian Irrigation Service, was stationed at the Barrage, over which large sums of money were spent during succeeding years.

In 1861, when the superstructure was declared to be complete, the cotton crop was only 721,052 kantars.¹ In 1884 the Damietta Barrage for the first time was made to work. In June, 2.20 metres (7 feet 2 inches) of water were held up on the Rosetta branch, and about 0.95 on the newly closed Damietta Barrage. The cotton crop this year yielded 3,630,000 kantars. In the following year (1885) the Rosetta Barrage held up 3 metres (9 feet 10 inches), while the Damietta Barrage

¹ To be strictly accurate, the kantar is 99.05 lbs.

held 1.76 metres, but for one reason or another the cotton supply during this and the succeeding four years showed a decline. A reminder of the imperfect nature of the substructure occurred in March 1885. A widening of the cracks appeared in two of the arches of the Rosetta branch, and a down-stream subsidence took place of the old coffer-dam put in some years previously to protect this most doubtful part of the work. The last-named year is historic if only from the fact that by the London Convention Egypt, already over head and ears in debt, obtained a loan of £9,000,000 on unusually favourable conditions. From this time the financial salvation of the country was secured. The loan supplied the deficits of 1882-5 and the Alexandria Indemnities, and also saved the Irrigation system, to which service one out of the total nine millions was devoted. This million is believed to have yielded cent. per cent. The most important item connected with the Irrigation system was, of course, the Barrage. Lieut.-Colonel Western came from India during the year of the Convention to direct the works, and the late Mr. A. G. W. Reid, who was afterwards specially charged with the Barrage, accompanied him. The doubt was whether it was worth while to

restore the existing Barrage, and for a time it was uncertain whether or not an entirely new work should be undertaken. In consequence of experiments made with the view of ascertaining the state of the floor, it was decided not to abandon the old work but to attempt a complete restoration. The labour of four seasons was crowned with success, and on the 16th of June 1890 it was announced that the Barrage below water-level was finished, and was capable of holding 4 metres of water. The restoration of both branches had cost £E.465,000. In point of fact the maximum head of water held up after 1890 was 4.07 metres on the Rosetta branch, and 3.72 on that of Damietta, except in 1898, when for some time the Rosetta branch supported a head of 4.28 metres.

Since 1890 anxiety has not infrequently been caused by the self-assertion of springs, chiefly in the Damietta branch, but the danger has, it is hoped, been successfully combated. Notwithstanding the fact that a patchwork floor and foundations rest on a treacherous basis, the Barrage of to-day has fairly well performed its duty. Those who have given special attention to the subject maintain that if the whole structure were to be carried bodily down-stream to-morrow, it

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would, by the value of the crops already due to it, have more than repaid the millions which have been expended upon its construction, repairs, and maintenance. It is not easy to refute this assertion.

It has already been mentioned that the cotton crop in 1884, the year when the Damietta branch was first made to work, yielded 3,630,000 kantars. It is only proposed to give the figures of subsequent cotton crops from and including the year when the restoration of the Barrage was reported to be complete. They are as follows :—

1890	.	.	.	4,159,405 kantars.
1891	.	.	.	4,765,341 „
1892	.	.	.	5,220,510 „
1893	.	.	.	5,033,235 „
1894	.	.	.	4,619,233 „
1895	.	.	.	5,256,128 „
1896	.	.	.	5,879,479 „
1897	.	.	.	6,566,487 „
1898	.	.	.	5,583,306 „
1899	.	.	.	6,435,735 „

thus showing a fitful but generally upward tendency in the yield of cotton in the Delta.

Happily for Egypt, to use the words of the historian of the Barrage, the work had fallen “into the hands of men whose experience had

taught them to be bold without being rash, and who, having confidence in themselves, ventured what more timid men would not" have undertaken. The reader may be reminded once more that the work was practically French, not British. If the engineers summoned from France by Muhammad Ali failed where English engineers have succeeded, the fault certainly did not lie with the French. They failed because skilled advice without authority to secure its adoption had in it no element of success, and could not bear comparison with that of Anglo-Indian engineers invested with authority to direct and govern native workmen. A Protecting Power could alone enforce obedience. There are failures that are successes in disguise, and the Barrage as it stands to-day, whatever the defects of its original construction, is a monumental work of French creation completed by British heads and Egyptian hands. There is something touching in the story as related by Sir Alfred Milner¹ of Mougel Bey's survival till, when age pressed upon him, he witnessed the realisation of his life's dream and, drawn out from poverty and oblivion, found himself rewarded as the originator of the enterprise by a pension from the

¹ P. 247, ed. 1899.

Egyptian Government. This tardy recognition of solid service was due to the insistence of Sir Colin Scott Moncrieff, Mougel's more fortunate successor.

The application of cement grout has lately been employed under the pressure due to its own column, varying from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ tons per square foot, to some 340 points below the foundations of the body of either Barrage, by means of five bores made in the thickness of each of the piers. The grouting of the Rosetta branch was begun and completed in 1897, the total expenditure on this particular service during that year being £E.3054. The Damietta branch was commenced and completed in the following year, and £E.2974 were spent upon it. The successful and quick result of the undertaking is stated by Sir William Garstin, Under Secretary of State for the Public Works Department, to have been largely due to Major Brown's unremitting supervision and untiring energy.

It does not seem necessary to entertain the reader with the sums expended on the Barrage each year since the completion of the restoration, but the expenditure for the last three years—that is, the total maintenance and improvement charges, excluding the sums paid for the regular

staff and for office expenses — work out as follows in official figures :—

1897. — £E.14,067, including the sum of £E.3054 above mentioned, expended on the special consolidation works.

1898. — £E.15,200, including the sum of £E.2974 mentioned above, or £E.14,379, deducting two items amounting to £E.821 not properly chargeable to this account.

1899.—£E.10,806.

The structure is believed to be now considerably stronger than before. As it was not thought desirable, however, even with the latest improvements, to subject the Barrage to the strain due to a four-metre head of water, if it were possible to avoid it, a system of down-stream weirs, one in either branch of the river, was decided on at the end of 1897, before the completion of the grouting experiment. The effect of these weirs will, it is believed, be threefold. Not only will they relieve the existing Barrage of part of the maximum pressure which it is now expected to support, but they will give more abundant water to Lower Egypt on the rise of the flood in July and the beginning of August; and finally, they will augment the discharging power of the canals in

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summer, by increasing the depth of such amount of water as may be available without resort to the expensive method of widening the canals. To this service the *Caisse de la Dette* allotted, on the 15th of December 1897, a separate sum of £E.530,000. These weirs are now in course of formation, and it is hoped that they will be completed by the summer of 1901. They are being constructed by a new method of too technical a nature to be described here, and will be submerged during flood time. Each will be provided with a lock for purposes of navigation. The complete length of the weir on the Damietta branch will be 418 metres; that on the Rosetta branch will be 500 metres long, exclusive of the locks. The expenditure on these weirs during 1898 amounted to £E.81,856, including building materials, plant, labour, and dredging—this sum being distinct from the general expenses of the Barrage works. The expenditure in 1899 came to £E.159,873, making a total, so far, of £E.241,729, and about £E.160,000 will be expended in the year 1900. Probably the grand total will amount to about £E.420,000.

This sketch does not, of course, profess to dispose of the great questions of canals and drainage improvements.

The Irrigation million voted in 1885—the historic year—was less than half exhausted by the cost of restoration works on the Barrage, which, as already stated, amounted to £E.465,000. The rest has been devoted to the undermentioned services: (1) the addition of another to the two previously existing canals intended to be fed from above the Barrage, (2) improvements in navigation, and (3) basin and drainage works. The last-named service has come to be regarded as one of paramount importance in a country like Egypt, where natural drainage depressions do not exist owing to the flatness of the country. It has been proved that without artificial assistance the giving out of undrainable water is very often equivalent to the drowning of the crops. The success of the general experiments justified a subsequent special grant of £E.910,000 to the Irrigation Department, which was devoted to specific purposes. This sum was part of an amount saved by the conversion of the Privileged Debt in 1890.¹ It has been pointed out in one of the recent annual reports of Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General that prob-

¹ "The bulk of this money has gone to Upper Egypt, though considerable amounts have also been devoted to the Rayah Behera (the great Western Canal) and its branches, and to the extension of Main Drains."—"England in Egypt," p. 248, ed. 1899.

ably no class of State expenditure is more thoroughly appreciated by the population of Egypt generally than that incurred with the view of improving the system of drainage, and that none yields a quicker return. These facts will explain why each recurring Budget in later years has shown so large a sum devoted to this particular item. To use Lord Cromer's own words, "Previous to the recent grants of money the funds available for the construction of new drains were so limited in extent, that the principal channels could not be given the dimensions suitable to the areas which it was intended to drain. Consequently, with every fresh development of the system the main drains became full to overflowing, and ran with too high a water surface to permit of efficient drainage. These defects are now being remedied. The chief arteries are being given the full dimensions required by calculations based on the total area to be drained."

It will be sufficient to indicate briefly the expenses of the three latest years for which drainage accounts are available, and the results obtained.

In 1897, thanks to a liberal vote from the *Caisse de la Dette* of £E.296,000, assisted by

a grant from the Public Works Department, 325 kilom. of new drains were dug, and 163 kilom. of existing ones were enlarged and remodelled, the area beneficially affected being 795,000 acres in extent. In 1898 the *Caisse de la Dette* voted £E.255,000. With this sum, aided by a grant from the Public Works Department and a small balance of £E.1986 carried over from the previous year, 397 kilom. of new drains were dug and 280½ kilom.¹ of old drains remodelled, the work chiefly benefiting Lower Egypt. The accounts show that a total sum of £E.283,604 was expended during this year, including the cost of certain pumping operations at Mex, but excluding that for the maintenance of existing drains.

In the beginning of 1899 the *Caisse de la Dette* granted a sum of £150,000 for drainage works in Lower Egypt. There was a substantial balance existing from the previous year of over £E.4000, and some £50,000 were expended from the ordinary Budget. Out of these sums 80 kilom. of new drains were dug, and 214 kilom. of existing drains were remodelled and enlarged. The total sum expended amounted to about £E.199,000, and an approximate balance

¹ These figures are taken from reports later than those available at the time of the preparation of Lord Cromer's report for the year.

of £E.10,000 was left to be carried over to the service of the present year.

It is affirmed that the country will soon possess a complete system of drains, and that, after five years of annually decreasing expenditure calculated from 1898, the main drains and principal branches will be complete. The result should be that by the time the increased water-supply resulting from the new reservoirs is available, the inhabitants will be able to make use of it without risk of water-logging and deterioration of the soil. This calculation may be regarded as *couleur de rose*. A fear is entertained in some quarters that the annual clearance and maintenance of new channels may provide a very heavy charge upon the Budget for yearly repairs, the pressure of which is already felt. It is nevertheless believed that the increased revenue will be able to meet the strain.

Some initial difficulties had to be surmounted before any clear and distinct proposal could be offered and accepted in regard to the dam and reservoir at Assuan, which promises to be the greatest engineering feat which the modern world has witnessed. The original plans were prepared by Mr. W. Willcocks, Director-General of Reser-

voirs, with the assistance of Messrs. W. M. Hewat and C. Clifton, and the late M. F. Roux. Preliminary studies and the preparations of the various projects lasted from 1890 to 1893. The rival plans were submitted to Mr. (now Sir William) Garstin, who gave his opinion generally in favour of the Assuan site. In view of the magnitude and exceptional nature of the work, the scheme was, at his suggestion, submitted to an International Commission of experts, composed of well-known engineers, who held their first meeting in Cairo on the 26th of February 1894. The Commissioners were Sir Benjamin Baker, M. Auguste Boulé, and Signor Giacomo Torricelli. The joint reports resulted in a decision to construct a dam to hold up water at the site recommended by Mr. Willcocks across the head of the Assuan Cataract to the north of Philæ. A dam constructed with its crest fixed at 114 metres above sea-level, as originally proposed, would have inevitably involved the submersion of the temples on the island, and the scheme thus presented provoked the indignation of the archæological societies of Europe. A reconsideration of the project followed, and a modification of the original scheme was accepted by the Egyptian Government, providing for the

construction of a dam holding up 106 metres above mean sea-level—in other words, a reduction of 8 metres. After Mr. Garstin's archaeological mission to Europe a decision was arrived at in favour of the modified plan, by which 1,065,000,000 cubic metres of water could be stored instead of 2,550,000,000, as originally proposed.

Finally, on the 21st of February 1898, a contract was signed by Hussein Fakhry Pacha, Minister of Public Works, and Messrs. John Aird & Co. by which the Company undertook to construct the dam and works, in accordance with the specifications, for the sum of £2,000,000, payment being made by semestrial instalments of £78,613 spread over a period of thirty years commencing on the 1st of July 1903, the date fixed for the completion of the works. The foundation-stone of the Assuan dam was laid by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught on the 12th of February 1899.

The contract includes the construction of a Barrage across the Nile at Assiut and a regulating bridge at the head of the Ibrahimiyyeh Canal, which takes off from the Nile immediately to the north of the town of Assiut and supplies perennial irrigation to parts of the

Province of that name, to Minieh, Beni-Souef, and the Fayum. The regulating head across the canal will have ten bays, each 5 metres wide, and a lock for navigation 50 metres in length and 8.5 metres wide. The perennially irrigated area now commanded by the Ibrahimiyeh Canal is about 500,000 feddans,¹ of which acreage a considerable portion is situated in the Fayum, and so far receives a supply of water insufficient for the service of the crops in summer. The annual cost of dredging this canal from 1892 to 1897 to obtain an adequate result has varied from £E.16,800 to £8196. In consequence of the raising of water in the canal in summer the dredging operations will be very much reduced, and may even prove unnecessary. After the construction of the Assuan reservoir, the summer supply in the Fayum and elsewhere will be considerably increased, and a large amount of basin land, so far producing one crop a year, will receive perennial irrigation. The Barrage of Assiut is intended to regulate the augmented summer discharge of the canal. It will be an open weir of 111 bays, each 5 metres wide, and with piers 2 metres thick, very similar in con-

¹ A feddan is 1.038 acres.

struction to the existing Barrage north of Cairo. A pair of gates will be fitted in each bay for regulating the upstream level of the water. This Barrage will also be provided with a lock sufficiently large to admit of the passage of any steamer on the Nile, and is designed to hold up $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres of water. The total length of the work will be 903 yards. Satisfactory progress was made at Assiut in 1899, and the foundations of the lock and of nearly one-fourth of the total length of the weir were completed before the rising water stopped the work for the season.

At Assuan the total length of the dam to form the reservoir will be 2156 yards, with a width of crest 26.4 feet. 500 yards of the dam from the eastern bank of the river had been completed at the end of last year to within 2 metres of its full height, and foundation excavation had been carried out on the line of the dam over a length of 1400 yards.¹ Good progress had also been made with the navigation channel on the western bank, which will enable boats to pass up and down without impediment. The unprecedentedly low Nile of 1899-1900,

¹ Reports of Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General for 1898 and 1899.

whatever effect it may have had in injuring existing crops, has at least very considerably assisted the work intended to benefit their successors by enabling work to be carried on in the dry. Those who knew Assuan in its quiet days would scarcely recognise it now with a huge and busy out-of-door work-shop—happily hushed on the Sunday—established in its vicinity. By the end of December 1898, 2900 men were employed at Assuan, and of these 271 were Europeans, chiefly Italian stonecutters. The average number of men employed during the summer months of 1899 was 10,000 at Assuan, of whom about 900 were Europeans; and approximately the same number of workmen were employed in the month of June at Assiut, where the Europeans were fewer in number.

In accordance with the terms of the contract, the Contractors are advanced 75 per cent. of the amounts which they expend on preliminary works, plant and materials, until the contract value of the permanent work executed shall have reached 25 per cent. of the whole, after which the amounts so advanced will be deducted.

The total amounts paid to the Contractors, who have incurred no risk of any kind, had

amounted to about £1,080,000 at the end of 1899.

A few words will illustrate the difficulties continuing to exist owing to the international fetters which at every step hamper the financial action of the Controlling Power, even when measures are at stake that vitally affect the interests of the whole country. The Government had no ready money, and was not allowed to borrow. Savings were impossible. The Contractors naturally required payment as the work went on. Happily, Mr. Ernest Cassel, who received the K.C.M.G. last year in recognition of his services to Egypt, formulated a scheme by which he pays the Contractors the two millions on their producing warrants (*mandats de payement*); these *mandats* being payable by Government between the years 1905 and 1935. When they become due after the completion of the work, the Government pays in half-yearly instalments. It is a matter of calculation what the sum paid now by Sir Ernest Cassel entitles him or his representatives to receive hereafter from the Egyptian Government, taking the question of interest into consideration. The Contractors are paid as the work proceeds, and the Government pays the holder of the warrants eventually out of ordinary

revenue. The fact that the amount of "pay warrants" to be issued is more than twice as large as the amount named in the contract for the construction of the works is, of course, explained by the above arrangement. It was calculated in 1897 that the building of these reservoirs would bring in an additional annual increase of wealth to the country of £E.2,608,000 *plus* a direct benefit to the State of £E.378,400 per annum. The extra sum to be obtained from the sale of unreclaimed land was at the same time roughly estimated at £E.1,020,000. This calculation does not include the increase in Customs Returns consequent upon enlarged traffic on State railways and the enhanced value of land already under cultivation, of which no trustworthy estimate could be formed. It has been noticed, as a significant feature of the case, that as soon as the contract was signed the price of land "shot up."

If the estimate quoted above errs, the mistake is probably on the side of prudence, as the calculation is based on the assumption that (1) a low Nile might occur every year instead of once in five years as is usually the case, and that (2) the storage of water by the Assuan dam would be only 1,065,000,000 cubic metres, which is pro-

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bably an estimate below rather than above the mark.

The fact is that, as we stand upon the threshold of a new century, we are looking wistfully into an era of promise to Egypt in matters regarding Water and Justice which has never been dreamed of as possible—a complete water-supply, and a tangible system of justice all round, simplified by a complete revision of the whole Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes.

INTERMEZZO

THE GENII AND THE MAGICIANS—THE WITCH-TRAP

When we said to the angels : Prostrate yourselves before Adam, all prostrated themselves except Iblis, who was one of the genii. He revolted against the commandment of God. . . . They are your enemies.—SUR. xviii. 48.

COMMENTATORS have experienced some difficulty in reconciling this passage with others in the Qoran. In several places Iblis is represented as having been originally an angel, and when fallen to have become "El Sheitan," the tempter, the devil, the enemy of mankind. Some writers allege that he is to be regarded as the conqueror, others as the father of the family of genii or ginn, who, unlike the angels, reproduce their race and are subject to sin and death, and to the punishments entailed by sin in an after-life. There are passages in the Qoran (*e.g.* Sur. ii. 96 ; vi. 100 ; xix. 69 ; xxvii. 39-40) from which it might be inferred that there is little or no difference between the dæmons and the genii. Whatever affinity may exist between the two, it is necessary to distin-

guish one from the other. The genii proper seem to belong to the sweet myths of India and Persia, and the belief in them has left its mark upon Semitic races, not to mention those nearer home. Towards the end of the sacred volume as collected, Muhammad himself (Sur. lxxii.) has taught that the genii are not all bad. Some having listened to the reading of the Qoran were converted by its teaching, and exclaimed: *It leads to truth; we believe in it, and will no longer associate any being with the Lord. . . . Among us there are good genii and others who are not so; we are divided into different species.* Historians have connected this passage with the appearance of the Prophet at Taïef, not long before the flight from Mecca. Although the inhabitants of Taïef received his message with incredulity, he was consoled by the eagerness with which his doctrines were accepted by a company of genii who happened to be present, and who became among their own race the apostles of the creed of pure Monotheism from which men and genii alike had fallen. The latter were, as has been seen, brought into being before Adam, at the time probably when the firmament was created. There can be little doubt that it is the true believers among them

who are ready to assist orthodox Muslims resorting to them in their hour of need. Nor is the question of strict orthodoxy always in point; they are well known to have assisted the Derwishes in their earlier conflicts with the Egyptians during the late insurrection.

Though the above remarks may interest the general reader, it is unnecessary to state that to the ordinary Arab, who cannot read his Qoran and is unacquainted with the commentators, they would convey absolutely nothing. To him the genii are very much what Rübezahl and his kind were to us in our early days, as revealed in the all-absorbing pages of Musäus, a race by itself capable of ungainly little tricks and of generous impulses, and the belief in them is as ineradicable as that in the evil eye. They are seen in Egypt, sometimes singly, sometimes even in groups by the fellahin, to whom they are the object of superstitious reverence, for though banished from the earth theoretically, they are not, as has already been shewn, confined to their place of seclusion. They are propitiated; yet they are of such delicate formation that they may sometimes be killed even by the projection of a date-stone, as is known to all who have listened to the recitation of the "Thousand and One Nights"

For luck's sake, what Arab woman who respects herself would think of throwing anything away without an ejaculation such as *Dastur* (with your permission), or *Ya Mubarektu* (Oh, ye blessed ones!)? It is important to notice that the long-existing tradition has been overlaid with the story of the seven kings who reign over the genii, one of whom is on duty, each on his particular day, to attend to business. Of the genesis of these kings it is more difficult to find any trustworthy record.

With what emotion did the writer receive the news that an arrangement had been made at an Arab house some miles from Cairo by which he, among others, was destined to make acquaintance, at least by proxy, with one of these royal personages! Was it an invitation to meet Iblis himself, and in what guise would he appear? Would he be like Lucifer in the authentic revelations of Diana Vaughan-Taxil¹ seated on a jewelled throne? Of course it would not be a conjuring séance—this at least was certain—nor were the party going to be put off with “Keate of Eton” in the form of a young girl, as he appeared to a little boy in the presence of the author of “Eothen.” What the company were about to witness would more probably be something of the magic of the Egyptians, which

¹ *Memoires d'une Ex-Palladiste*, Paris, 1896.

Moses knew and alone surpassed, and here, perhaps, would be found a key to unlock the magical papiri which have puzzled the modern Egyptologist.

The party which sallied forth to test the powers of the wizard from Cairo comprised six persons, among whom the sexes were equally divided. Three little boys of the village, not one of whom could have arrived at the age of puberty, were called into the room one after another, and knelt close to the magician, who in each case first held upon the forehead of the subject papers on which were traced passages from the Qoran. Squatting beside his inkhorn of Gargantuan dimensions, he pursued his recitations in an undertone, while the boy gazed, though not always intently, at a round spot of ink which had been described on the surface of an upturned saucer. As a preliminary, each boy was required to see the seven kings, or at least the one who was on duty, roused for the occasion by the "Angel" who attends them. The place was swept, a camel was killed, and the kings were feasted and given coffee before business could commence. The service was carried out by the attendant Angel. So far, it appeared that everything that was seen by the subject came at the suggestion of the interrogating magician, the boy merely replying to

the questions addressed to him by the Egyptian "Aïwah" (yes). No questions that were asked by the company, when once the preliminaries had been gone through, were successfully answered, and by turns the little boys were bakhshîshed and sent away. Then the magician told the past of each of the party, who were severally required to give their prænomen and that of their mother. A calculation was then gone through and the Qoran consulted; but it did not appear to the writer that anything remarkable was told, or any distinct truth elicited, except the fact that one of the party had never entered the connubial state.

Later on occurred a meeting with a fresh magician. Ink was poured this time into a boy's hand, and about the dark mirror was traced a square or oblong, with Arabic numerals at the sides, the ink-spot in the centre apparently representing the numeral 5. This arrangement will be recognised in a drawing given at page 270 of Mr. Lane's "Modern Egyptians" (1860).

A complete failure. •


Again a third meeting at the same house. We arrived half-an-hour after the appointed time, and found to our dismay that the two newly imported magicians had started on their donkeys for Cairo, thinking that we were laughing at them. A letter

in Arabic was left, conveying this idea in veiled language; but the real reason of their flight may have been that they were impatient and uncomfortable on finding themselves alone in unfamiliar surroundings. Post-haste an Arab youth was despatched on horseback in pursuit of the quarry, and presently, with a flush of success that seemed to break the bounds of his *café-au-lait* complexion, he brought back the fugitives, evidently captured against their will.


The elder magician, a shrivelled and very old and deaf man, did nothing. He had not got his own reading-boy with him, and it was too cloudy or windy, or both.¹ The companion, a fearful object with only one eye, probably the survivor of twins which had never taken the same view of life, told fortunes from a book, the only preliminary necessary this time being that the inquirer should give his or her prænomen. He seemed to read from the page where the fortunes of any one with the given name were written, after the manner of the commonest fortune-teller in the more credulous parts of our own country.

¹ "Il ne faut appeler aucun ordre si ce n'est en tems clair et serein." Les clavicules du Rabbi Salomon, traduites exactement du texte Hébreu par M. P. Morissoneau, Professeur des Langues Orientalistes, Sectateur de la Philosophie des Sages cabalistes; quoted in a footnote by Lord Lytton in "Zanoni."

Then a new form of divination. A sand-covered tray was brought in and placed on the floor beside the squatting wizards, the younger of

whom drew the double triangle  on the

surface of the sand. Each one of the party was invited in turn to place a finger within the vacant spot in the centre of the mystic figure, a slight impression being left by the process, and then "fortunes," or rather, in most if not in all cases, past histories were told. In each instance the magician rubbed out the double triangle as soon as the central space had been impressed, smoothed the sand, and then drew upon it a curiously-wrought figure not unlike a Canadian snow-shoe,

but with finger-dots within the framework. 

These marks in their turn were effaced, after which the wizard was immersed for a few minutes in thought or calculation.

It may be stated that the writer had nothing to do with inquiries as to the future, and heard nothing of the past which might not have been gleaned, except perhaps one thing half right but, as it appeared, wholly wrong chronologically. A lady dressed in the deepest mourning, whose weeds

might have appealed to the Arab imagination, was told that she had been married, and—omitting Eastern hyperbole—that he whom she had loved had “faded” or “passed.” The magician’s statement created some sensation.

Yet another meeting—the fourth and last. A boy looking at the ink-mirror in his hand saw, as bidden, the seven pitched tents of as many kings. There followed a repetition of the cleansing of the house by the “Angel” and the inevitable entertainment, for the appetites of the said kings had to be satisfied as before. Incense was burned on a chafing-dish, as it had been on a previous occasion, “because the kings like it.” Then questions were asked, but the whole thing was again a dead failure. It was curious that throughout these investigations the vision of the Sultan was never suggested to the reading-boy, though previous inquirers have often given this apparition as the finishing touch to the preliminaries.

Possibly some of the party would have written the narrative of the third meeting differently, but the author has only recorded his own impressions at the risk of leading his readers to an anti-climax for which he must not be held responsible. Passing by the element of suspicion that exists in the fact that the kings were adjured in the name

of Allah to tell the truth, and did not usually do so, he does not see any reason for admitting that Iblis or his kind had anything to do with the transactions. It is, however, open to question whether, supposing the party had comprised none but orthodox and uneducated Muslims, the general impression would not have been different. As it was, the conclusion was unavoidable that the Egyptian Hall is a more reputable place than Egypt for dabbling in witchcraft, and that fortune-telling, if you are credulous enough to trust it, would be equally well or better done on an English racecourse or, say, at the Devil's Dyke.

The four meetings had passed leaving a blank in the history of diabolism, though all except the first took place after Ramadân, in which month the genii are imprisoned and unable to get beyond the Mountains of Kâf by which the world is surrounded.

It would, of course, be impossible to review even superficially in this chapter the experiences of those inquirers who, when Abdul Kader El-Mugraby (the Moorish) and other accredited magicians flourished, pursued their researches in Egyptian magic, but most of them, if not all, seem to have been unsuccessful in their in-

vestigations. The experiments of Lord Lindsay¹ and Elliot Warburton² were as distinctly unsatisfactory as those of Kinglake, but it is only fair to note that the first of the three writers records that Mr. Salt, Lord Prudhoe and Major Forbes, who subjected the magician to long and repeated examinations, were impressed with the belief in his supernatural powers. Mr. Lane has given a remarkable account of his experiences. Nelson, who was called for, was described by the boy reading in the mirror of ink as a man with one arm, the *left* being missing. A later writer³ believes that Mr. Lane acknowledged having been entirely deceived in the matter. Perhaps this statement refers to a footnote at page 275 of "Modern Egyptians," and the admission may possibly have been subsequently simplified. It was to Mr. Ramsay—not to Lord Lindsay as would appear from Elliot Warburton's narrative—(see note to vol. i. of "Letters from Egypt," &c.) that Signor Caviglia vouched that he has pushed his studies in magic, animal magnetism—then, if possible, even less understood than now—to an extent that had nearly killed him, to the very verge, he said, of what is forbidden to man to

¹ "Letters from Egypt, Edom, and the Holy Land," 1838.

² "The Crescent and the Cross," ed. 1845.

³ "Court Life in Egypt," by Mr. A. Butler, 1888.

know; and it was only the purity of his intentions that saved him. He said he could have performed all magical rites formerly practised, but that by the coming of our Saviour anything of minor degree was included, and "it would be a profanation to attempt such things."

The world owes much to Caviglia as a pioneer among diggers in the early years of this century. To him is owed the excavation of the lower portion of the Sphinx, of the steps which led to it, and of an open temple, and partly also the discovery of the statue of Rameses the Great, the property of the British Museum, which, thanks to private enterprise in 1886-7, no longer lies in the Nile-mud at Memphis. The excavator has been described as a bold, illiterate and fanciful seaman, and at this distance of time no one cares to ask how far his modest estimate of his own supernatural powers was correct. In any case the magic of the Orient might, once and for all, have been left at the safest point—the concluding words of his statement.

It may be recollected that some fifty years ago a clearance took place of suspicious characters under Abbas Pasha, who caused all available witches and wizards to be tied up, each separately,

with a dog in a sack, and then thrown into the Nile. This was one way of saving himself. Some of them had been suspected of plotting against him, and clearly the safest plan was to drown them all. Yet in Egypt of to-day both witch and wizard hold a recognised position not exclusively in the estimation of the fellahin similar to that which was accorded to their predecessors. In Cairo particularly such persons are to be found, and in a hovel not very far from the Abdin Palace there dwells a sorceress, probably the most renowned in Lower Egypt, whose very name is one to conjure with. When objects are lost in a household, it is sometimes enough to mention casually within earshot of the servants that a visit to this particular woman is in contemplation. The lost objects have been known to return as mysteriously as they had disappeared, and the threatened visit becomes unnecessary. The writer admits that he did not resist the temptation of being led into the witch-trap as a matter of curiosity, and arrived in time to witness the powers of this formidable virago while two of the fellahin class were in consultation with her. The preliminary process consists in handing to the witch a handkerchief, if you have got one, in which are wrapped 2 piastres

(5d.), more or less as the case may be. She first satisfies herself of the presence of the necessary fee, and then casts a penetrating glance upon the proprietor of the handkerchief. After this comes cross-examination, divination, and judgment. There are four chief evils in fellah life: theft, the cutting of the ropes of your shadûf, the destruction of your crops, and the poisoning of your cattle. The two last-named crimes of cruel vengeance are now specially provided against by the Penal Code, as is pointed out in the chapter on Justice and Water. But the last thing a child of the soil would wish to do, of his own mere motion, would be to go to his mudir or to claim the assistance of the police. If aggrieved, he would go to a wise woman, as his fathers went before him, and then take the law into his own hands. The witch in question, a clever and imperious woman, seemed, by the aid of leading questions and equivocal suggestions, to arrive soon at the understanding that this was no case of theft, but that the ropes of her clients' shadûf had been cut. This was admitted. The question was to find out who cut them. After a brief interval it was pronounced that "Muhammad did it," a man of another village than theirs,

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a pretty safe guess, if guess it were, as nearly every other Mussulman whom you meet is named after the prophet, and a crime of this nature is more likely to be committed by a stranger than by a fellow-villager. The clients seemed satisfied with the result of their visit and went their way. It might be interesting to know how many ropes—the property of so many Muhammads—were subsequently cut by way of retaliation.

A book might be written upon the superstitions of Egypt and the Sudan. The belief in love-philtres, charms, and lurking devils is fairly general. A fellah does not always care to bathe in a strange pool till he is approximately certain that no one has lost his life there, for the “devil” (ghost) of the drowned man would almost certainly pull him down and drown him. The real devil has something very [particular to do with the electric light, and when it goes wrong (say, in a desert hotel), [what is more natural than that a child should be sacrificed to put it right again? Thus, when the light is known to have failed, the children of the fellahin are anxiously kept away by their mothers. A superstition exists, not least among the higher orders, against inhabiting a house in which a

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death has taken place. A recent prisoner of the Khalifa has shown how firmly rooted in the Sudan is the belief in the power of the transmutation of metals. Travellers affirm that in a region south of Fashoda, to which the writer has not penetrated, entire tribes exist where the witch-doctor absolutely rules the community.

Such are the people with whom the Anglo-Egyptian Government has to deal.

What about the Pigmies, who sometimes penetrate even into the French Sahara? Does any one suppose that these little people of scarcely four feet in height, or rather the remnant of them, owe their continued existence to their poisoned weapons? Not at all. They have been saved by their pretensions to supernatural powers, before which great men quail and grovel.

CHAPTER V

THE NATIVE CHRISTIANS

Early history—Effect of Arab invasion—Persecutions—Effect of Napoleon's invasion—Removal of disabilities—Copts under British occupation—Schooling—Native Christians in the Sudan.

AMONG the suggested derivations of the word Copt none is less open to criticism than *Αἰγύπτιος*—*Αἴγυπτος* being the name first applied by the Greeks to Memphis, and subsequently to the whole land of the Nile. At the time of the Arab conquest the Egyptians naturally became Agupti and Gupti (Qibt). The rival contention that the Copts were so called from Coptos in Upper Egypt—the Qebt of the hieroglyphics, now known as Qeft, the headquarters of Christianity under the Romans—is not to be dismissed without consideration, but the presumption is entirely in favour of the first-mentioned theory. The ethnological myth that the Copts are descended from a race imported after the Muslim conquest, and are therefore not the original children of the soil, cannot be noticed in these pages. An hypothesis

that the word is derived from Ya'qub (Jacob), from whom the existing Egyptian Church was named, is now generally discredited.

Maqrizi, the Arab historian of the Copts, who was born in Cairo late in the fourteenth century, states that there were four Ya'qubs, the last-mentioned an itinerant bishop, from any one of whom the term Jacobite might have been derived. In point of fact, none but the last on the list, who was consecrated Bishop of Edessa in or about the year A.D. 541, has any claim to be considered in the question. The existing National or Monophysite Church is now generally known as the Orthodox Coptic or Egyptian Church. The Uniate is called the Coptic Catholic, and by the Monophysites the Dependent Church (القبط التبعية)

"El-Qibt el-tobba'a," i.e. dependent on Rome. The term "Melchite," applied to the Greek Church, and accepted by Eutychius, who lived between A.D. 876 and 950, and by other Greek authorities, was apparently of earlier origin than the tenth century, as stated by Gibbon. The word is clearly derived from the Arabic *malik* (king), or rather from the Syriac—the word being the same in both languages. It meant nothing but the followers of the King of the Râm, the

Romano-Greek Emperor. Neither "Melchites" nor "Jacobites" refused at one time the title applied to them by their respective opponents, but both names have long fallen into disuse. The vast majority of the Copts, who as a nation were among the earliest converts to Christianity, followed their patriarch Dioscorus in separating from the Greeks after the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451). The separation was not wholly racial. Some Copts still remained united to the Greeks, especially in Upper Egypt, and some Greeks followed the majority of the Copts. A modern Coptic-Uniate writer¹ gives the names of ten of the early Jacobite patriarchs of Alexandria who appear to have been of Greek nationality.

The native Christians increase up the Nile as far as Luxor, and were generally supposed in the time of Muhammad Ali to end at Edfû. They are to be found at Assuan, where they form

¹ *L'Histoire de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie*, par le R. P. Georges Macaire, Le Caire, 1894. According to the census of 1897 there were then in Egypt, out of a total Christian population of 730,162 souls, 53,479 "orthodox other than Copts." Among these the pure Egyptians are mostly conspicuous by their absence. The community is almost exclusively composed of Greeks and Levantines. In this chapter an attempt has been made to use the word "Copt," as far as practicable, in a generic sense; but it is impossible to dissociate it entirely from the religious definition with which it has been linked for centuries. Those readers, if any, who may desire information in regard to the Coptic Cult must consult Appendix III.

a not unimportant society, and further south. Gordon's Supplementary Instructions, addressed to him by Sir Evelyn Baring (Lord Cromer) on the 25th of January 1884, recognised the existence in Khartum of native Christians among the 10,000 or 15,000 people who, according to the estimate of local authorities, might probably wish to move northward when the Egyptian garrison should be withdrawn.

A pure Copt, who is generally as fair as a European,¹ but not fairer than the ordinary Turk of the governing class with Circassian blood in his veins, will readily detect his brother. Western travellers, however, visiting the Nile for the first time will with difficulty discern in the modern Copt, unless in the higher reaches of the Nile, the lineaments of the ancient Egyptian portrayed as we see them on the walls of temples and tombs, partly in consequence of an impress that has been left on the country by successive waves of invasion. Nevertheless, the Copts proper have, to a

¹ The "coal-black" Copts in Jerusalem, described sometimes even in groups by Thackeray, "fumbling their perpetual beads" under the very nose of the distinguished novelist ("Titmarsh's Journey," 1845), were probably Sudanese, but certainly not Copts by race. It does not follow that they did not belong to the Coptic rite. The Abyssinians, of whom there are many in Jerusalem, are also not "coal-black." They recognise, as Patriarch of their Church, the Coptic Pope of Alexandria, who consecrates their Abôna.

large extent, remained one of the least adulterated races in the world. The old features still exist, and traces of a common origin assert themselves among a great mass of the Muslims. This is explained by the well-known fact that a large proportion of the present agricultural population had Christian ancestors who, unwilling to bear any longer the galling yoke imposed upon them by their conquerors, adopted the dominant religion, and whose descendants have known no other. An analogy might perhaps be drawn in the case of certain Jews and Moors in Spain and other inconvenient people elsewhere in Europe, many of whom, in search of social and religious equality, adopted a creed to which they did not heartily subscribe, and in whose descendants no trace of religious dissent now exists. Maqrizi relates that among the agricultural population of the country many managed to be employed in public offices and to intermarry with Muslims, so mixing the races that the greater part of the inhabitants were in his day immediately descended from the Christian children of the soil. Long afterwards, Cheikh Abdil-Rahman el-Gabarti, writing during the time of the French occupation, complained rather bitterly that some Copts, who had recently embraced Muhammadism, con-

trived to have their names entered in the register of Ashraf, or noble descendants of the prophet.

It has been brought against the Copts that, owing to persecution on the part of the Greeks, they readily accepted the conquest by the Arabs (A.D. 638-640), or even invited them to come to Egypt in the hope of being able to revenge themselves upon their Greek adversaries.¹ That hotbed of persecution and wearisome theological subtleties, the Christianity of the East, has no doubt much to answer for, but the latter assertion has, so far as the author is aware, never been substantiated.²

Six million persons were registered for payment of tribute,³ probably one-third of the entire Coptic population, as old men, women, and children below sixteen were exempted from taxation.

¹ "A Coptic layman," the author of an article entitled "The Awakening of the Coptic Church," in the *Contemporary Review* of May 1897, states that now, after centuries of conflict, the most friendly relations subsist between both Churches, that the Greek clergy often take part in Coptic ceremonies, and that in all towns and villages where there are no Greek Churches Greeks attend the Coptic services, and *vice versa*; the theological dissension which caused the separation being either "quite forgotten or treated with the indifference it merits."

² The story of the betrayal of the citadel and of the country generally by the Mokawkas, "a Copt," is too long for this chapter, but a short biographical notice will be found in Appendix IV.

³ Euty chius : *Annales*.

What is certain is that for a time the Copts enjoyed the exclusive favour of their new masters, whom they not unnaturally endeavoured to conciliate, and that Greek churches were freely handed over to them. Some of them were raised to important offices, but eventually all, as a people, became subject to the inexorable law of Oriental misrule, the reduction of the population by summary and not too lenient measures whenever any particular section proves to be inconveniently self-asserting. The law of quasi-toleration, tempered by periodical massacre, was not at one time unknown in the West, and is not even now, as we are well aware, altogether stamped out in the changeless East. Arab historians have, of course, thrown the blame on the Christians, accusing them of plotting against El-Islam and its followers, and Christian authorities¹—who appear to have obtained their information exclusively from unfriendly sources—have not hesitated to allege that the persecutions to which the Copts were subjected were, in one way or another, brought upon them by themselves.

¹ Cf. chapter xxix. of "The Story of the Church of Egypt," by E. L. Butcher, 1897. The author of the work has not unnaturally mentioned the name of Dr. Neale. Other names may perhaps suggest themselves to those who are familiar with works dealing with the Christianity of the East.

The severest and longest persecution endured by this remarkable people, which has steadfastly refused to be improved off the face of the earth, occurred in the fourteenth century; every crime, from incendiarism upwards, being ascribed to their intrigues. It is of course impossible to give any trustworthy estimate of the number who suffered during this time of trial. In one town alone in the Delta 450 Christians in a day are reported to have saved their lives at the expense of their religion, but it appears certain that of those who at that time embraced El-Islam all over Egypt not a few subsequently returned to Christianity, the desertion of their adopted faith being generally paid for in the usual manner. In the same century, beyond the limits of Egypt proper, the Nubians as a nation deserted Christianity, a faith which they had not embraced till the latter half of the sixth century, probably about A.D. 545. Abu Salih, an Armenian, writing early in the thirteenth century,¹ says that in his time there were seven Episcopal Sees in Nubia, and no less than four hundred churches in one district alone. A writer in the *Edinburgh Review* of January 1898 states that

¹ See Messrs. Evetts and Butler's "Churches and Monasteries in Egypt." Oxford. 1895.

at the end of the fifteenth century Christianity had entirely disappeared from Nubia. This is the generally received version ; but it is probable that a small Christian remnant, subsequently fed by immigration, continued to exist, as it exists now.

Till much more recent days the Copts of Egypt were not allowed to dwell in peace. They were often left to the discretion of a disorderly soldiery, often to that of an infuriated mob, and sometimes to the tender mercies of both combined. 'On such occasions, those who would not abjure their religion were indiscriminately put to death, their women violated, and their homes looted or set on fire. Property, whether belonging to the Church or to private individuals, was very frequently confiscated, and there was no redress. A Muhammadan embracing Christianity was subject to the penalty of being burned alive ; a Copt who became a Muslim was paraded through the streets with music and, particularly if he happened to be a man of any importance, was given an estate or employment under government. Only last year (1899) a Copt who had become a Mussulman was thus paraded through the streets of Cairo, and the occasion

was chosen for an anti-Christian demonstration.¹ It will be remembered that among the long-suffering Christian slaves of Algeria much the same thing happened at various times; many of those who embraced El-Islam being honoured, and some being raised to the rank of Dey.

A good deal has been said about the periodical "rising" of the Copts, but it is clear that on many if not on all occasions they would have been more than human if they had not revolted against their oppressors in pure self-defence. Nor did they cease, even in what were considered peaceful times, to be subjected to penal laws, social disabilities, and local massacres. The state of destitution to which the native Christians were reduced towards the close of last century is probably not unfairly described in a well-known passage of Gibbon, but no correct statistics of their numbers could have been available when he wrote.²

Though the Copts suffered severely in the days when Napoleon was engaged in annexing Egypt, he found it absolutely necessary to employ them, and chose a Coptic general—the usual

¹ It is only right to add that, on complaint by the Copts, the ringleaders were arrested. Among them were two Muhammadan policemen.

² "Decline and Fall," vol. vi. chap. xlvii.

“Ya’qub”—who raised a Coptic regiment. A levy took place from Said to Cairo, and the men were shaven and dressed as French soldiers.¹ In view of the many faults and cruelties connected with that expedition, it is a pleasure to recognise a ray of light. Napoleon’s action sowed the seeds of social and religious equality between the children of the soil and their rulers, which seeds have since borne ample fruit. Under Muhammad Ali (1805–1849) several disabilities were swept away, and many more under Said (1854–1863) and Ismail (1863–1879). During the viceroyalty of the latter, among other vexations the prohibition against religious processions was removed, which had continued to exist even in quarters which the Copts were permitted to inhabit. Since then, native Christians have been allowed to carry the dead to their last resting-place with the cross borne on before, instead of being obliged to smuggle them to the grave as had previously been the custom.

In legal documents, contracts of sale, mortgages, &c., drawn up by the Mehkemehs (religious Courts) the name of a deceased Muslim is always preceded by the expression *marhum* (on

¹ Abdil Rahman el-Gabarti.

whom God's mercy !). Until the time of Ismail the name of a deceased Copt was always followed by the word *halek* (damned). A living Copt, whatever his position, was simply entitled *el-zimmi* (one who is left at the mercy of the conqueror and pays the capitation tax), while the name of each of his own Muslim servants acting as witnesses was preceded by the title of "honourable." At present, while the divine mercy is always invoked upon deceased Muslims, the Copt is merely described as *el-mutawaffy* (the deceased—the late).

Not until the close of the vice-royalty of Muhammad Ali were Copts raised to the rank of Bey, but during and since Ismail's Khedivate the title has been liberally conferred on them. The rank of Pacha was first granted to a Copt, shortly before the outbreak of 1882, by the Arabist Cabinet, which had reasons of its own for propitiating the native Christians. The new Pacha was Boutros Ghali, now Minister for Foreign Affairs. In 1885 the title was conferred on a Catholic Copt, Wassef Pacha Azmy, Judge in the Court of Appeal of the Mixed Tribunals, lately deceased. Thus, out of an official total of 608, 446 Christian Copts (Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Protestant),

there were in 1898 only two Pachas, one of the Monophysite and the other of the Uniate Church, though the rank had been conferred with a less grudging hand on members of other Eastern and of Western Churches. There were at the same time at least fifteen Pachas of Armenian and Syrian extraction, without counting Greeks holding the same rank. Whether or not this fact points to a quasi-survival of the old prejudice against the recognition to an equal extent of the abilities or position of native Christians in Egypt, the writer has no opinion to offer. It has been not unusual to produce the case of Boutros Ghali whenever any question has arisen as to equality of treatment, but Copts themselves have been disinclined to admit that one swallow can make a summer—or even two. A Copt by birth professing the Greek faith, Scander Fahmy, has been recently created Pacha, and in January 1900 a Catholic Copt, Baghus Ghali, was added to the number of Coptic Pachas, which now amounts to three.

Formerly the Copts were compelled to dress in black or dark colours, and were not allowed to wear the tarbush (fez). The headgear of those in good position was not necessarily that of the agricultural class, but they were not permitted to

appear in white turbans.¹ The sumptuary restrictions have long since been abolished, but many Copts still prefer to dress in dark colours, the badge of their former disabilities. They could not bear arms or ride on horseback. When towards the close of the reign of Muhammad Ali they began to disregard the latter restriction, it is related that a deputation waited on his son Ibrahim to complain of the new departure. Ibrahim, who appears to have had some appreciation of the injustice of the recognised system, or at least some sense of humour, is stated to have replied, "Let the faithful be more exalted; let them ride camels." This incident probably gave the death-blow to this particular regulation, which had previously been rigorously enforced.

Externally the dwellings of the Copts, who were confined to special quarters, were miserable,

¹ Maqrizi's statement is to the effect that whosoever found a Christian wearing a white turban might kill him and seize his property. An order was published forbidding Christians to ride horses or mules, but they were allowed to ride donkeys, *provided they rode face to tail*. Wüstenfeld, in a footnote to his German translation of the Arab historian (Göttingen, 1845), points out justly that not all MSS. contain the words printed in italics. They are clearly an interpolation. The Copts of to-day do not admit that their ancestors anticipated a feature of the modern Gymkhana.

The date of the order requiring Copts to wear dark turbans is given by Ersch and Grüber as A.D. 1301. (*Allgemeine Encyclopädie*, vol. xxxix. 2nd Section. Leipsic. 1886.)

and any display of wealth brought disaster. Churches could not have a façade on the street; neither towers, bells, or external decorations of any kind were permitted. Any traveller who cares may ascertain this for himself, even in Cairo, by visiting the Patriarchal or other Coptic churches. No new churches could be built under any circumstances, and existing ones could not be restored without permission, which was obtained with difficulty. Even after the Copts had obtained authority to rebuild a church, instances have occurred in which the new building has been burned down and replaced by a mosque, under the pretext that the church occupied a wider space than formerly or had been embellished. Now they are of course free to build both churches and houses, when and where they list, and enjoy complete religious freedom.

Until the Europeans, with their more modern arts and inventions, flooded the country, the Copts, in spite of their disabilities, were the financiers, the artisans, and the architects and builders of the most beautiful monuments of the so-called Saracenic art. Great Muhammadan historians—*e.g.* Ibn Khaldûn (Abdal Rahman Ibn Muhammad), who wrote in the latter half of the fourteenth century and died in 1406—admit this, and among

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modern writers Mr. Butler in his "Coptic Churches of Egypt," and also Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole in his magnificent work on "The Art of the Saracens in Egypt," have drawn attention to the fact.¹ The best pulpits in mosques, and the screens and other decorations in Coptic churches were, and are even now, very often the work of the same hand. The Copts were the cunning physicians, the masons, carpenters, panel-workers, inlayers, stone-cutters, goldsmiths, jewellers, weavers and, moreover, the most learned men of the country. In a word, if they were slightly below the general height, they were and are still superior in education and intelligence to the greater part of their fellow-subjects—a fact which has rendered them indispensable, and to a large extent accounts for their preservation. In recent times they have been in some cases hard pressed by the Syrian youths, who are sharp-witted, and have generally received their education in the French schools of their particular districts; but it is understood that the competition

¹ The last-named writer reminds us that the term "Saracen" merely meant "Eastern" in the Middle Ages. The Italian words "Saraceno," "Saracenic," "Saracenisco," and the name of the stuff called sarcenet all come from the same root, شرق شَرْتِي "Shark" (East), "Sharki" (Eastern). It may fairly be asked whether the Arabs had any arts, properly so designated, which they did not learn from subject races.

has been rendered less acute in consequence of the improvement which has taken place in Coptic education in the chief centres of population. The Copts have also found no mean rivals among the Italian panel-workers and other artistic craftsmen.

If the native Christian seems to the English traveller retired, though obliging, this diffidence is of course due to the fact that centuries of oppression have bred an external reserve which, in many cases, will possibly go beyond the general gravity of the Oriental—such as we have been taught to understand it. As a race, the Copts do not make advances towards their European protectors, whose advent, in such cases as the situation was understood, was hailed with thanksgiving.¹ We have short memories. It cannot therefore be too often repeated that there were inconvenient obligations between debtor and creditor existing in 1882 which would have made a general massacre of the Christians, under the pretence of a Muhammadan revival, not an altogether unwelcome distraction, especially in agricultural districts. Indeed it was the general opinion of those who were on the spot, that after the massacre of June in that year wholesale re-

¹ See particularly "The Story of the Church of Egypt," referred to in a previous note.

ductions of the population would undoubtedly have taken place throughout the country but for the bombardment of Alexandria and subsequent operations. It is of course neither asserted or even suggested that the victims would have been claimed exclusively from among the Copts, or from Coptic, Greek and Levantine Christians, or indeed that the blood-tax would have been exacted from among the Christian community alone.

The first advance towards the Native Christians must be made by the strange and somewhat exclusive foreigners, to whom they are not unready to admit the advantages of toleration which they have received during eighteen years of British occupation.¹ There is no reason for supposing that they understand less than the Arabs, the race which has turned "hush'd old

¹ A Coptic gentleman, discussing with the writer the question of our withdrawal from Egypt some time before the change brought about by the recent operations in the Sudan, said something to this effect: "If and when you go, those among us who have anything to sell will sell it and go with you." The remark was curious as coming from one of a body which has received little favour though absolute toleration since the British occupation. The contingency is of course to be avoided in view of the periodical influx of Russian Jews, and less reputable people, who bid fair to swamp our little island; while the yet smaller island of Malta, within three days' steam of Alexandria, is full to overflowing. This is equally true of the Manderaggio.

But this is not all. The exodus would certainly not be confined to the Christians if we left Egypt with our work undone.

Egypt" into a huge winter playground, reverberating not merely with the sound of revelry by night, but with the beating of many balls by day—without which no British occupation would be possible. The ancient books of the Arabs teem with references to games and sports hardly yet extinct. The game of ball, such as it is depicted at Beni Hassan,¹ has survived till recent times, and was taught, as arts were taught, by the Copts to their conquerors. It has been played by a friend of the author within the last few years, but has now been almost entirely superseded by modern games in the large towns. It is, however, still played by boys up the Nile.

Many curious discrepancies still prevail. The Coptic Patriarch and Clergy have, by virtue of Imperial Firmans, jurisdiction over the Copts in matters relating to marriage, divorce, inheritance, &c., but they have no power of enforcing laws derived from their own canons. One instance will suffice. According to Church laws the share of female children is equal to that of males, but the law can only be applied if all interested parties accept it unanimously. If one (say) of ten heirs

¹ See page 429 of Mr. Wilkinson's "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," 1837.

dissents, the division must necessarily be made according to Muslim law, which allots to the male double the share of the female.

Copts could not formerly aspire to administrative posts, governorships and sub-governorships of provinces or cities. They were not appointed even to positions of the smallest importance, or made *mamûrs* of districts. Only one instance is known of the appointment of a Copt under Ismail to the post of sub-governor of a province. There seems still to exist a tendency to ignore their aptitude for posts of this description, although they are freely admitted to appointments in the Ministry of Finance and in the Magistracy. Among the Judges they are well represented. If the writer is correctly informed, the Copts—who were for many centuries trusted secretaries and accountants to the Sultans, Princes, and Governors of Egypt—are not at present represented in the personal service of the Khedive. The Cabinet, in which they are equally unrepresented, contains an English, a French and an Arabic section.

If, as some persons have suggested, the Copts, who according to the last census are 83.33 per cent. of the whole Christian population, are not exactly on the same footing in regard to the distribution of honours as Levantine and European Christians, or

raised to administrative and other posts as freely as they might reasonably expect, it is not maintained that among the educated classes they are in any respect unqualified for advancement.

It is noticed that the Government, while spending annually large sums on Muhammadan ceremonies and places of worship, pilgrimages to Mecca, the Holy Carpet, the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet and other Muslim festivities, gives nothing to the Copts for religious or denominational purposes, though the funds composing the Budget are contributed by both sections of the community. But it is only right to mention that a forward step has lately been made. Since the time when the Patriarch gave his consent to the placing of Coptic monuments under the supervision of the Committee for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings, to which two Coptic members were added in 1896, a sum of £E.2000 has been voted towards the maintenance of the fabric of ancient Coptic churches. This amount was part of a sum of £E.20,000 voted by the *Caisse de la Dette* towards the preservation of Arab and Coptic monuments.

Lord Cromer, in his Report for 1898, drew attention to the fact that no answer had been received to his offer of this sum, coupled, as it

was, with the condition that the Copts themselves would supply a similar amount, and that in consequence of the want of interest shewn by them in their own concerns the Coptic churches were rapidly falling into decay. The explanation of the difficulty will probably be found in the lamentable state in which the finances of the Coptic community have been allowed to remain—a condition of inextricable confusion recalling that of Egyptian finance generally under Ismail Pacha. A field for industry exists in this respect, and a full inquiry into the financial state of the community should be courted, and even insisted upon, by the Copts in their own interest. The official Report for 1899 shows that hopes are entertained of a fairly satisfactory arrangement in regard to the offer of the Egyptian Government. In many districts the people have been hopelessly abandoned, and know nothing of their own history, their religion, or those arts in which they have excelled. Enlightened Copts generally believe that improvement must come from within, not from without. There has been till lately too little *entente cordiale* between the aged Patriarch and the educated classes, but the former has recently shewn a diminution of his distrust of the young “Taufik” party, whose

war-cry—ringing through their distinctive press—is the regeneration of the native Christian body and its progress in the paths of modern civilisation. Their review, *Megallet el-Taufik*, appears once a week and is read by nearly all the educated Copts. The association represented by this organ has a printing-house of its own, from which secular and religious books are issued. The Taufik Society has also branches in the principal towns, and provides for scholastic teaching. The chief want is the proper education of the clergy. It is unfortunately true that the inducements are too scanty to obtain a superior class of men to volunteer for the priesthood,¹ yet the native schools for the clergy are already producing a better race of men, and laymen brought up in their schools are in some cases allowed to preach in churches. Till very lately the want of good education was also severely felt in lay schools, no less than the absence of religious instruction, which young Copts rarely obtained except by attendance either at the schools of the American Protestants or at the Roman Catholic missions. It is to the former

¹ "The average salary paid to a parish priest is two pounds per month, and as most of them are married and have a large family of children their misery can be easily conceived." See article in the *Contemporary Review* referred to above.

source that the British, in the early days of occupation, were indebted for the supply of a class of natives already instructed in English, who were at once drafted into the public service as clerks and accountants.

It is unnecessary to say that in the schools of either mission, Catholic or Protestant, the young Copt has hitherto received an education in advance of that which he would have obtained in the schools of the "Orthodox" cult. Yet even in the latter, at least in the great centres of population, a Christian boy would have received a better education, including book-keeping and arithmetic, than a Mussulman boy taught in his denominational school. The Muslim would have learned little beyond passages of the Qoran by heart and the principles of Arabic grammar. This remark applies of course to private institutions, but not to modern Government schools, where the various sections of the community are taught together.

It has been mentioned in an earlier part of this chapter that Gordon's Supplementary Instructions recognised the existence of Native Christians at Khartum, and referred to the measures which should be taken for their safety after the withdrawal of the Egyptian garrison.

There was a Coptic Christian community existing in the Sudan previous to the rise of the Mahdi, which has been estimated at from 200 to 300 families. Their Church was represented at Khartum by a bishop and a certain number of clergy, who resided in the principal towns of the Sudan. The greater part of these Christians emigrated northward after, or immediately before, the withdrawal of the garrison. Of those who remained in the Sudan some were killed in and during the rebellion, and others were exiled to Gebel el-Ragaf, south of Fashoda, by order of the Khalifa. Many no doubt accepted the outward garb of Mahdism, and others again who did not do so were "missing." The late Bishop of Khartum, and (once Christian) Nubia died in Cairo in 1897. It was not considered prudent before the opening of the Sudan to allow the new Bishop to proceed to his diocese.

A curious and perhaps unique Arabic MS. was placed in the hands of the writer at Omdurman and brought away by him in the early part of this year. It contained a list of 77 Christian families in the Sudan, drawn out by the president of the Coptic community during the Khalifa's rule. Of these families, 7 which had embraced

Muhammadism had decided to retain their adopted faith, while the other 70, whatever may have been the religion which they outwardly professed during the rebellion, openly acknowledge Christianity. The list was no doubt as complete as it could be made in troublous times, but the number of persons who shortly after the battle of Omdurman declared themselves Coptic Christians was at a modest computation not less than 200, and the number has since considerably increased.

Of the 77 families above mentioned about 69 (approximately 350 persons) belonged to Omdurman and Khartum, 3 families (about 20 persons) to Kassala and Gedaref, 4 (about 25 persons) to Berber, and 1 to Kordofan. Although this attempted allocation would account for the 77 families, it does not exhaust the whole number of Coptic Christians, as some few families residing at Dongola, Senaar, Halfa, Suakin, and perhaps elsewhere, were evidently not taken into account.

The writer of a recent magazine article¹ has taken to task the action of the Anglo-Egyptian Government in not allowing the new Bishop Serapammon to proceed earlier to his diocese, and

¹ "Christianity in the Sudan," by L. M. Butcher (*Contemporary Review*, June 1899).

in not making provision at once for the Native Christians of Omdurman. The answer would probably be that until the Sudan had been declared open it would have been extremely hazardous to give permission in the former case, and in the latter it would have been impossible to provide suddenly for the wants of a Native Christian community which was only just emerging from obscurity. There seems no reason to doubt that when things have settled down, the distinct claims of the Christians of the Sudan will receive ample consideration. Already the allotment made during or before the month of March last of a plot of ground in New Khartum, for the building of a Coptic church and schools, appears to have given general satisfaction ; and no time has been lost in collecting scholars, whose numbers in July last amounted to 112.

The Coptic Bishop has collected several hundred pounds towards the church, and the Society for the Furtherance of Christianity in Egypt has given generous aid towards the erection of the schools.

CHAPTER VI

THE LOST REGAINED

"Legends" in a London square—The Hinterland—Historical retrospect—A little dry theology—The Mahdi—Muhammad Ali—The Egyptian soldier—The campaign of 1896-98—Omdurman—Fashoda—Anglo-French Agreement.

So curious a spectacle as that which Trafalgar Square presented on the morning of Sunday the 4th September 1898 is not seen every day in London, and, when witnessed, is not readily forgotten. It was a *festa* for a people sometimes represented, especially by foreign but not necessarily unfriendly critics, as the least emotional in Europe; yet one, whose feelings once aroused, has a happy knack on proper occasions of breaking through conventional bounds. As one inscription recording an act of retribution was removed from the pedestal of General Gordon's statue by the police, another legend appeared in its place amid the cheers of the crowd. Numbers increased as the day wore on, till the belated stood less and less chance of gaining access to the statue. The tidings of the short,

sharp and decisive battle of Omdurman on the 2nd of September, first generally known in London in the early hours of the afternoon of the following day, had spread like wildfire. The break-up of the Derwish power was assured; the Reign of Terror was at an end. There have been noisier and more widely spread demonstrations of delight since that date, perhaps on the occasion of the relief of Mafeking and in honour of the occupation of Pretoria; but in no case has the enthusiasm of the British public been seen to better advantage. It is not usually brought against them that they are unfaithful to their heroes, and the personality of Gordon loomed no less large than before through the haze of thirteen years. The feet of all classes, for days and even weeks subsequently, turned towards Trafalgar Square as to a place of pilgrimage. The spot was dedicated for the occasion to "the Avenging of Gordon," the very phrase, it is true, which would most certainly have grated on his ears.

It need scarcely be stated that it was no mere Avenging of Gordon that drew the Anglo-Egyptian forces with their merciless weapons to the point where the two Niles marry—the spot where each forgets once and for all its special contentious claim to be considered the true Nile.

If ever war were justifiable and even necessary, it was both necessary and right in the case of the reconquest of the Sudan, whether viewed from the standpoint of humanity or as an act securing for Egypt an old and much-needed barrier-land. With this reconquest was placed beyond doubt the continued existence of Egypt as a country, which was menaced so long as the upper reaches of the Nile remained in the hands of the Mahdiists. A further and no mean advantage gained has been the limitation of the area of the slave-raider, but of this hereafter.

The connection between Egypt and the Sudan in ancient times was of the closest. Ethiopia was overrun and made to acknowledge the suzerainty of Egypt before the eighteenth dynasty, and under that which succeeded it, Ramses II., the Pharaoh of the Oppression, had practically made the country a part of Egypt. Nubia gradually threw off the Egyptian sovereignty, and the twenty-fifth dynasty was Ethiopian. But it is sufficient to glance at the history of this unwieldy mass of territory—the battle-field of home interests and alien races—from Christian times.

The Sudan, no less than Abyssinia, was Christianised by missionaries from Egypt. The

letters of St. Athanasius bear testimony to the fact that he consecrated Frumentius Bishop of Auxumis¹ in Abyssinia in or about the year A.D. 326. At that date it was popularly supposed that Abyssinia and India joined at some unknown point, a belief which no doubt explains the fact that Frumentius is spoken of as "Bishop of the Indians." His mission, extending as it did to Ethiopia, cannot be said to have stamped out idolatry, and Christianity does not seem to have taken root in that country till the sixth century. Silho, chief of a Negroid race originally from Kordofan, was the founder of the once famous Christian kingdom of Dongola. This race embraced Christianity about A.D. 545. Silho assumed the title of King of the Nobads and of all Ethiopians, that is, of the Nubas of the Nile and of the Hamitic Blemmyes. The latter tribe, remaining Pagan, was driven out. Long after the absorption of Egypt by the Arabs this native Christian kingdom, which flourished altogether for 700 years, continued to hold its own against the invaders till, in the fourteenth century, the Arabs, assisted by

¹ The modern Axum, the coronation city of the Emperors, some miles north-west of Adowa.

a detachment of Bosnians¹ sent from Turkey by Sultan Selim, were able to overthrow the Dongolawi dynasty.

The sister Christian kingdom of Alwah continued to exist. The capital was Soba on the east bank of the Blue Nile, about 29 kilom. above the spot where long subsequently arose the town of Khartum. In the fifteenth century it was succeeded by a Muslim kingdom, with Senaar as its capital.

The change had taken centuries to develop. About 700 A.D., Arabs of the tribe of Beni Omr, hard pressed by the Beni Abbas tribe, had begun to emigrate from Arabia in small companies to the opposite shore of the Red Sea, and to settle in the districts about Sennar. By degrees their descendants, largely strengthened by new settlers (some from Egypt, and others probably from

¹ Cf. "Burckhardt's Travels in Nubia," &c., London, 1819. They built, or rather repaired, three castles—those at Assuan, Ibrim, and Say—and enjoyed certain privileges, among others an exemption from the land-tax. Some of these Bosnians remained and intermarried with the Gharbye and Djowabere tribes. Their descendants are recognisable. They are a fair race, who have forgotten their original language, but still continue to be called Osmanli by the Nubians. They call themselves Kaladaky, or people of the castles. From Nuba, the Arabic form of Nobatæ—a negro tribe removed by Dioclesian from the western oasis to the Nile valley of the Sudan—comes the modern Nubia, a term about whose precise meaning no two writers agree.

Morocco), had become identified with the population.

Before the close of the sixteenth century the fame of Sennar, which had gradually become celebrated as a seat of Muslim scholarship, drew students from Cairo and more distant places, even from far Baghdad. After the repulse of the Abyssinians, who invaded the Sennar district with a large army in 1719, the reputation of the capital was further increased, and the town was again visited by the flower of Muhammadan learning from Arabia, Egypt, and India. Towards the end of the century (about 1785) dissensions broke out which ended in open war; fire and sword being then, as lately, the characteristics of a large portion of this distressful country.

It may be assumed that neither the idea of gaining new conscripts for his army nor yet the report of the untold wealth of the district about Sennar was absent from the mind of Muhammad Ali when, in 1819, he determined to send his son Ismail with a large army to seize and pacify the country. Ismail arrived at Khartum or rather its site, for the city was not founded till 1823, without encountering any resistance, and then reached Sennar, where he was joined

by his brother Ibrahim. A Government after a Turkish fashion was set up. On the occasion of a second visit, Ismail defeated the nomad Arabs who had risen in rebellion, and appointed new Cheikhs. He then went to Shendy¹ on the Nile, where he and his chief followers were roasted alive by the Meg (Ruler) El-Nemr (the tiger), who first regaled them at his own board, both wisely and too well, and then set fire to the house in which he had just entertained them. Again anarchy; then vengeance executed by Ahmad Bey, who had wrested the province of Kordofan from the Sultan of Darfur, and the re-establishment of Egyptian authority more completely than before. Nearly the whole of what we vaguely call Nubia fell under Egyptian domination. In 1870 Ismail Pacha pushed the frontier further south till it included the Nile basin as far as the equator. These provinces remained under Egyptian rule till the Mahdiist revolt broke out in force in 1882. Both Sir Samuel Baker and General Gordon, to each of whom was successively entrusted the government of the Equatorial provinces, left a marked improvement, especially in the direction of the limitation of the slave trade. The latter

¹ Colonel D. H. Stewart's Report (Egypt, No. 11), 1883.

has described the government of the Egyptians in these far-off countries as nothing better than brigandage of the worst description.¹

It is sometimes asked who was the Mahdi, and what were his credentials? The question has been handled by more than one writer entitled to speak with authority. There were three Mahdis flourishing in 1882; one the Senussi Mahdi, who is stated to have adherents even now in Darfur, and of whom we are likely to hear later; another the Sudanese Mahdi, with whom we are immediately concerned; and a third whom it is unnecessary to introduce here. But so little is known by those who dwell at home at ease—after all the greater number—respecting the points where Muhammadism seems to some extent to touch Judaism and Christianity, that the general reader may well bear the infliction of a little dry theology. The tourist from the West unacquainted with Muslim countries and literature will be astonished if, when travelling for the first time (say) up the Nile, or more particularly in Syria, he finds here and there a cheikh or other notable personage known as Isa (Jesus). If he expresses surprise, the Muhammadan dragoman by his side will

¹ "Gordon in Central Africa," 1899.

perhaps pause somewhere in the fingering of his chaplet of ninety-nine beads (each of which represents an attribute of Allah) to meet him with the inquiry, "What! do you think we do not believe in Jesus?"

Religion, as the Arabs understood it, was enfeebled at the time of Muhammad's birth. "Hanifin"—penitents—had arisen professing monotheism or (may we say?) monotheism, still flickering, had broken out among them into a flame. The fact that Muhammad had intercourse with these people is not sufficient to account for the Qoran. Every scholar knows that the position given to our Lord betrays Nestorian leanings. A tangle of contradictory traditions have left in doubt even the name of the Nestorian monk—usually called Sergius—whom Muhammad had met in journeying from Syria to Mecca.¹

Although Isa was not the Son of God, a limit

¹ Sale, whose English translation of the Qoran first appeared in 1734, believed that this acquaintance, formed at Bosra, a city of Syria Damascena, was too early to favour the surmise of the monk's having assisted in the Qoran, which was composed long afterwards, though his influence may be traceable. Husain, the commentator, quoted by Mr. T. P. Hughes (*Dictionary of Islam*), says that the Prophet was in the habit of going every evening to hear the books of Moses read, and the revelations made by God to Jesus. The probability is that Muhammad fell under the direct influence of Docetism.

having been placed to the power of the Almighty Father to beget a Son through the instrumentality of one of His creatures,¹ yet was He the greatest of prophets, born miraculously of a mother exempt from all stain and elected from among all women of the universe.² The Just did not suffer for the unjust. So great a prophet as Isa could not die the death of a felon but, before He was assumed into heaven, one resembling Him suffered in His stead.³

The advent of another leader was clearly foretold by Him.⁴ This guide, in whom Christians recognise the Holy Spirit, is, according to the Qoran, none other than Ahmad⁵ (Muhammad), a word corresponding to the Greek *περικλυτός*. There is nothing about the appearance of a Mahdi in the Qoran. Tradition alone has provided that material guidance should not cease for ever after the Prophet's removal. The coming of the Mahdi—"the directed one," hence one who is able to direct others in the *hidaya* or true way of salvation—has been expected as one of the signs of

¹ Sur. xix. 36. ² Sur. iii. 37. ³ Sur. iv. 56. ⁴ St. John xvi. 13.

⁵ Sur. lxi. 6. Some Muslim writers have maintained that *παράκλητος* (St. John xvi. 7) is only a falsification on the part of Christians of *περικλυτός* (renowned, glorified). Muhammad and Ahmad are but variations of a word proceeding from the same root, but Ahmad was the name by which the Angel Gabriel addressed the Prophet. Recent authors, however, have shown that the name Muhammad was not unknown among the heathen Arabs.

the latter days. Concerning him Muhammad is said to have prophesied that the world would not come to an end till one of his family should govern the Arabians. According to this theory the Mahdi's appearance would be expected by Muslims as the second coming of our Lord is looked forward to by Christians and the advent of the Messiah by the Jews. Unfortunately for the legend it fades when exposed to the light of Sunni orthodoxy. The most prominent Mussulman theologians now living in Egypt maintain that this tradition is absolutely Shi'ite, and consequently false. The late Mahdi was, as previous and contemporary Mahdis were, each severally, a rebel against the Sultan. Let it be clearly understood that the Mahdiist heresy was distinctly repudiated 500 years ago by Ibn Khaldun, an unimpeachable Sunni, appealed to elsewhere in this work as a trustworthy witness. He states that all traditions concerning the coming of the Mahdi are without foundation and were at his time rejected by the greatest authorities, and that there exists nothing whatever on the subject in the work on traditions called *El-Sahihein*—the real traditions generally accepted by the Sunnis.¹

¹ The decided statement quoted above as regards the rejection of the tradition by the Sunnis will be found in the first of seven

The same writer dilates on this point, and gives the names of those prominent authorities who have rejected the Mahdiist superstition, and the reasons for their conclusions.

The two theories, Shi'ism and Sudan Mahdiism, had this in common that both had broken with the Khalifat—or more properly the Khilafat—of the Sultan, disowned long ago by the Muslims of Persia who, for political reasons, have accepted the hereditary descent of their spiritual chief from Muhammad through Fatima and Ali.

The above considerations will not, of course, be taken as representing the trend of thought of a wild Sudanese tribesman who, like untutored Orientals generally, would be content to be led away by the success of a great leader. Least of all would such a person be in a position to scrutinise the claims of an adventurer to be *cherif* or one of the Prophet's family.

In the year 1881 a leader who to many simple minds supplied the attributes ascribed to a true Mahdi was largely accepted as such in the person of one Muhammad Ahmad. The child

volumes containing Ibn Khaldun's "History," printed by the Bulaq Press in Cairo. Sir Reginald Wingate, in his work on "Mahdiism and the Eastern Sudan," has shewn at some length the Shi'ite side of the question, and the connection of the Mahdi with the mysterious and long-hidden twelfth Iman.

born in Dongola of obscure parents about forty years previously had grown into a middle-aged man whose words drew listeners in increasing numbers from all sides. He appears to have begun reasonably enough by denunciations of the rapacious extortions of the Turkish Government. On spiritual subjects wisdom of a kind to which his honest hearers were wholly unaccustomed flowed from his lips. Like many if not all Eastern leaders, he taught contempt of life and the glorification of death in a good cause. He was by no means devoid of the cunning usually attributed to the professional impostor, and on removing from Abba Island changed the designation of the particular mountain beneath which he took up his abode so that the name might fit in with an old prophecy. The influence of the new prophet advanced by leaps and bounds: one by one the garrisons were affected by it, and whole tribes were carried away. The failure of the Egyptian Governor-General at Khartum to obtain possession of the person of the Mahdi in the earlier stages of the revolt shews how utterly the power of the new prophet was under-rated. Rauf Pacha's application for reinforcements, after his troops had been cut to pieces, resulted in the despatch under Hicks Pacha of a force which

did not deserve the name of soldiery. It consisted of men compulsorily enlisted from Arabi's disbanded army, never at its best anything but an undisciplined gendarmerie. The force was supplemented by some Turkish mercenaries and the riff-raff of the great towns. The annihilation of this rabble in Kordofan in November 1883 was followed in December by Slatin Bey's surrender to the Mahdiists in Darfur, after a long and brave resistance, and the destruction of Baker Pacha's Egyptian army at El-Teb in February of the next year. Lupton Bey was compelled to yield in the Bahr-el-Ghazal, a province which boasted of no less than eight garrisons. Emin Pacha held his own in Equatoria, attacked but never overpowered. Throughout this time there was no question of the abandonment by Egypt of her claim to the provinces of the Sudan. On the advice of Sir Evelyn Baring the necessity of renunciation was forced upon Egypt in 1884 by Great Britain, the very Power which had previously disclaimed all responsibility in the Hinterland. The British Government found itself face to face with an unexpected difficulty, and a new departure had become necessary. The Gordon mission in that year; the second battle of El-Teb, where

British arms wiped out the ignominy of the previous defeat of the Egyptian army; the relief of the garrison at Tokar; the breaking up of the British force in that little corner of the world; and the decision to retain Suakin only, were events which followed in quick succession. The failure of the attempt to relieve Gordon in 1885; the abandonment of the Suakin-Berber railway begun only a short time previously; the general absence of a consistent line of policy on the part of Great Britain; and finally the withdrawal from Dongola, left a clear field for the Mahdists everywhere south of Wady Halfa.

It may be interesting to go back in history to find what the Egyptian soldier was formerly. Conscription, as such, was unknown when Napoleon landed in Egypt in 1798. The idea was due to Muhammad Ali, but the application was not universal. Indeed till within a very few years ago youths born in Cairo and other large towns were exempt, but the exemption from military service had become a scandal, from the fact that women in certain circumstances resorted to these sanctuaries with the view of claiming the privilege for their unborn sons. Muhammad Ali's earlier levies were not attended with success. One regiment, at least, mutinied when

ordered to Arabia, and the men killed their officers. As may readily be believed, not a few executions took place, and the men of the disbanded regiment who remained were drafted into other battalions. Compulsory service was hateful to the Egyptian mind, and to a much later period conscripts joined in chains, as more recently we have seen them brought to the colours handcuffed. The device of cutting off your first finger or putting out your right eye rather than serve in the ranks was met by the resourceful Pacha by the formation of mutilated companies.¹

Nubia was not at first exempted from conscription. The Nubians were always good servants, but the idea that they could not serve as soldiers soon gained ground. It is related that when Muhammad Ali invaded Syria his Nubian regiments suffered greatly from cold and broke up the stocks of their muskets for firewood. The Viceroy, furious at this proceeding, gave orders that those regiments should be disbanded, and

¹ See particularly "Egypt as it is," by Mr. J. C. McCoan, 1877. Curiously enough, this propensity towards self-mutilation has not even yet died out among those who have not served in the ranks. Conscripts who mutilate themselves are punished by imprisonment. It is understood that cases of deaf-mutism have been cured by the application of the water-hose.

that the Nubians should not again be called out to serve with the colours. In point of fact they proved to be among the best soldiers in the recent campaign.

In the later wars of Muhammad Ali, whether in Europe, Asia Minor or Africa, the Egyptian fellah already shewed that he was not without fighting powers under good leadership. Officers of a type by no means to be despised were to be found among the Turks and Circassians who commanded the fellahin battalions, but precautions were deemed necessary in case of panic or of the flight of the men. It has been stated that these precautions took the form of artillery and Bashi-Bazuks placed in the rear of the Egyptian rank and file.

A few years before the bombardment of Alexandria, as the writer can testify, the Egyptian soldier was externally a poor creature, uncertainly paid perhaps but certainly with little professional pride. Even on sentry-go outside public buildings, he would stretch forth one hand for bakhshish while holding with the other his rifle—the best thing about him. He was in fact only some degrees better than the irregularly paid or entirely unpaid and ragged Turkish soldier of to-day in Syria, to whom it is a charity to give a slice

of bread. One has had a chance; the other none.

In the time of Said Pacha, who limited conscription to a year, officers began to be appointed from among the fellahin. Close observers have maintained that from the date of this new departure set in the discontent of the upper grades of the army, which was a great factor in the Arabist rising.

After the declaration of the disbandment of the Egyptian forces in 1882, the creation of a real army commenced under Sir Evelyn Wood who, aiming at a high standard, commenced to work on the lines indicated in Lord Dufferin's Report as regards the formation of a native force for home defence rather than a corps of foreign mercenaries.

For some time after Shekan and the first battle of El-Teb the word "Egyptian" had continued to be used as a term of reproach, in the military sense, not least in the mouths of the forcibly conscribed Sudanese of Egypt who had never seen the Sudan. These warriors equalled, if they did not actually surpass, the real natives of the soil in flowers of contemptuous rhetoric. Yet already in 1887, only four years after the date of the last-named battle, we find a part of

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the unassisted Egyptian garrison of Wady Halfa, led by Colonel Chermside, defeating the Mahdiists at Sarras, about thirty miles south of the frontier. During the frequent raids of the Mahdiists from this region into Egypt the military qualities of modern Egyptian troops were formed and tried. A field for training in the art of war was now opened for them. At the victory over the Mahdiists at Gemaizeh near Suakin in 1888, Egyptians and Sudanese fought together under Sir Francis Grenfell, with a comparatively small body of British troops. In 1889 when employed against Nijumi's forces at Argin and at Toski, and again in 1891 at Afafit, the Egyptians distinguished themselves.

When once the safety of the Red Sea littoral had been secured in the last-named year, there was rest in the land of Egypt for five years, while devastation continued in the Sudan.

[The new campaign destined to finish the Reign of Terror began in 1896 and ended with the death of the Khalifa at the battle of Omdobrikat on the 24th of November 1899. The first-named year was one of some unpleasantness for the British. On the initiative of the Sultan, attempts were made to oust the foreign garrison before the real work in the Sudan had com-

menced. The Anglophobe press was more violent than ever—though on looking back it is difficult to see what evil we had done—and in August it became necessary to suppress two native journals in Cairo.

The co-operation of Italy in the Eastern Sudan, where as long ago as 1885 she had occupied Massawa on the Red Sea, had been the cause of serious complications with Abyssinia, and in 1887 the Italian troops suffered their first reverse when pitted against the Abyssinians. King John's death and the ensuing struggles enabled Italy to conclude with Menelik an agreement which unhappily was only temporary. Let it be remembered to the credit of the Italian army that, when engaged with the Derwishes and outnumbered, they had not only held their own against their opponents but had worsted them. A protocol signed on the 15th of April 1891 between the Anglo-British and Italian Governments had conceded to Italy the right to occupy Kassala temporarily in case of necessity, Egyptian rights of sovereignty being secured. This fort was accordingly taken from the Derwishes on the 17th of July 1894. The opposing force on either side has been reckoned at about 2600 men. The Italian losses were scarcely worth mentioning.

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No means, of course, exist of giving the large number of Derwishes who fell on this occasion. The crushing defeat of Italy by the Abyssinians at Adowa on the 29th of February 1896—where 7000 Italians and 2000 men of the native levies perished, 1500 prisoners remaining in Menelik's hands—had again exposed Kassala to danger from the overwhelming numbers of the Derwishes. An appeal was made by the Italians to the British Government with the view of obtaining a demonstration beyond Wady Halfa. This application and the reports of unfriendly action on the part of France south of Khartum appear to have been the determining causes which hastened the new campaign for the recovery of Dongola and finally of Khartum. In March Sir Herbert Kitchener left under orders for Wady Halfa, accompanied by Major Wingate (the present Sirdar) and Slatin Pacha. A column was sent from the frontier to take possession of Akhasheh, 100 miles up the Nile, where the Derwishes were defeated on the 1st of May. As soon as the garrison at Wady Halfa had been set free by the arrival of the 1st North Staffordshire regiment from Cairo, Akhasheh became the point of concentration of the expedition. Tokar and Suakin on the east were occupied by Indian troops, the

Egyptian garrison being thus released. The victory of a combined force of Egyptians and Sudanese at Firkeh, about twelve miles to the south of Akhasheh, on the 7th of June 1896, and the operations at El-Hafir some three months later, opened the way to Dongola, abandoned in 1885. This town was entered by Sir Herbert Kitchener on the 23rd of September, and thus was secured the safety of the whole Province whose large and suffering population was now finally relieved, to use the words of the Sirdar, "from the barbarous and tyrannical rule of savage and fanatical Baggaras."

The primary object of the campaign was thus attained in a few months. The operations of 1896 were hampered by the intense heat and by want of funds. In the first three weeks of July 700 fatal cases of cholera were registered at Wady Halfa and the neighbouring stations. Before the commencement of the campaign the French and Russian members of the *Caisse* had protested against the loan of £500,000 which had been made from the General Reserve Fund for the recovery of Dongola. There was no particular reason for the protest except that France objected to the use of any portion of the locked-up funds in operations for the benefit of Egypt in

which she was not represented. The Mixed Tribunals (as is shewn elsewhere),¹ which had never been intended to have a voice in such matters, pronounced against the loan and the Egyptian Government was required to refund. If the accusation were ever brought against Great Britain that she had bought up the Sudan—a charge which would not be strictly true—the history of this notable transaction would necessarily suggest itself.

The year 1897 witnessed the commencement of one of the most remarkable achievements of the war, the construction of the desert railway from Wady Halfa, to which the success of the campaign is largely due. This work was carried out by a handful of young British officers under Lieutenant Girouard, R.E.² By the end of July the railway had reached a point 115 miles from Halfa, and the head stood in the midst of the desert. It was then nearer to the Derwish force at Abu Hamed than our most advanced post on the Nile. The last-raised Egyptian battalion, which had only done about six months' drill, was stationed at the rail-head to protect it. The Sirdar decided to send a

¹ Page 121.

² Two of these officers, Lieuts. Polwhele and Cator, have since died.

small column from Kassinger, the advance post, to take Abu Hamed. A mixed force of about 2700 strong, which included the 9th, 10th, and 11th Sudanese Battalions and the 3rd Egyptian—the infantry being under the command of Colonel Macdonald, the whole force under that of General (now Sir Archibald) Hunter—left Kassinger on the 31st of July, with 118 miles of bad and trackless country to get over in order to reach Abu Hamed before it could be reinforced by the Derwishes from Berber.¹ The march was successfully accomplished by the river column, and on the 7th of August Abu Hamed was taken by assault with very little loss on our side. The railway was pushed forward and the first terminus on the Nile, a distance of 203 miles of desert from Wady Halfa, was now secured at Abu Hamed. Berber, from which the Derwishes had fled, was at this time held for us by “friendly,” and was reoccupied in September. The railway was again pushed on. Further east in the Sudan, Kassala was handed over by the Italians to the Anglo-Egyptian Government on the 25th of December.

On the last day of 1897, General Hunter made an earnest application from Berber for rein-

¹ “The Sudan Campaign, 1896-99,” by an Officer, 1899.

forcements, which were immediately supplied. The Derwishes, who had been for some time acting on the defensive, were now marching upon that point and for some reason paused, erecting a zariba at the spot where the Atbara falls into the Nile. The Sirdar advanced to meet them, and the famous battle of the Atbara was won on the 8th of April 1898. The Anglo-Egyptian army was composed of about 13,000 men, that of the Derwishes being estimated at more than 19,000. Osman Digna escaped as usual, but Mahmud, the Khalifa's first lieutenant, was among the prisoners. The Anglo-Egyptian losses were greater in proportion at the Atbara than at any other battle of the campaign of 1896-99. The 11th Sudanese, one of the first regiments inside the zariba, suffered considerably, the losses amounting to 108 in killed and wounded out of less than 700 men. After this victory the rail-head was pushed forward to the confluence of the two rivers. Thus a continuous line of railway of 381 miles was available from Wady Halfa. There was now no doubt as to the final issue of the struggle, supposing any misgiving had survived after the fall of Abu Hamed and the occupation of Berber.

The reinforced army with which Sir Herbert Kitchener set forth to conquer at Omdurman had been largely trained under his own hand. All troops except cavalry were conveyed from the Atbara to Wad Hamed in boats towed by steamers. Supplies were also brought by water. The Derwish posts had fallen back as the Anglo-Egyptian force advanced, and the anticipated resistance at the Shabluka (sixth) cataract did not take place. Gebel Royan, an island near the southern end of the cataract, about forty miles from Omdurman, was intended to be the last dépôt and a hospital was established there. At this point, with the Egyptians encamped on the bank, the force was for the first time collected together. The author of "The Sudan Campaign, 1896-99," has given the composition of the whole force. The following account is a summary :—

BRITISH TROOPS

21st Lancers commanded by Colonel Martin.

32nd Field Battery R.A. commanded by Major Williams.

37th Howitzer Battery commanded by Major Elmslie.
Two forty-pounders commanded by Lieutenant Weymouth.

Second Company R.E. commanded by Major Arkwright.

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One Maxim Battery.

Two Infantry Brigades respectively under Colonel Wauchope and Colonel Lyttelton, commanded by Major - General (afterwards Sir William) Gatacre.

EGYPTIAN TROOPS

8 Squadrons of Cavalry under Lieutenant-Colonel Broadwood.

1 Horse Artillery Battery, and 4 Mule Batteries under Colonel Long.

Camel Corps under Major Tudway.

Infantry Division commanded by Major-General Hunter, composed of 4 Brigades under Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald, Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, Lieutenant-Colonel Lewis, and Lieutenant-Colonel Collinson respectively. Two of these were mixed brigades, Sudanese and Egyptian, and 2 entirely Egyptian.

10 Gunboats under Commander Keppel, R.N.

The total force included probably about 23,000 men all told.

Within seven miles of Omdurman was fought on the 2nd of September what the historian of the future may perhaps classify as one of the decisive battles of the world. The long-drawn plains of sand, Gebel Surgam towards the centre, and to the north the low ridge of the Kerreri Hills, from behind which Ali Wad Helu's force,

estimated at 20,000 men, issued to attack Colonel (now Sir Hector) Macdonald's Brigade, all seemed to join in forming the very site destined for such a battle. Those who may wish to refresh their memories as to the details of the fight cannot do better than consult the last-named work and the late Mr. Steevens' "With Kitchener to Khartum." Where all did so well Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General has almost hesitated to draw special attention to the achievements of any one portion of the Anglo-Egyptian force. At the same time he considered an allusion was unavoidable to the change of front executed in the face of the enemy by Colonel Macdonald's mixed Brigade, composed of the 9th, 10th, and 11th Sudanese, and the 2nd Egyptians, which could only have been accomplished successfully by highly trained and well-disciplined troops. The charge of the 21st Lancers under Colonel Martin, though disastrous to the regiment, will be remembered as one of the most gallant features of the campaign.

The Anglo-Egyptian losses were originally reported to be 387. They were probably more: (see "Rise and Fall of Mahdiism" at the conclusion of this work). Before the fighting had ceased outside, the Sirdar and his staff entered

Omdurman, and the united forces slept without the town, over which had risen till lately the unshattered dome of the Mahdi's tomb. Notwithstanding the escape of the Khalifa, the victory at Omdurman meant the destruction of the Derwish power.

Saturday the 3rd was a day of rest; the following day (Sunday) a religious service was held at Khartum, where Gordon had fallen so many years before, and the flags of Great Britain and Egypt were hoisted. Subsequently the Sirdar visited Fashoda. Both flags were similarly hoisted; the question of Captain Marchand's position and what lay behind it being left to be settled through the usual diplomatic channels. France, which had received more than one warning in Parliament and elsewhere that action on the Nile would be regarded as an unfriendly act, found a way of retreating not altogether without dignity from a position which she had too lightly assumed. That some soreness survived in France was only natural, and that this feeling was not softened by the tone of a section of the English press subsequently on a totally different subject, is, of course, to be regretted.

Captain Marchand left Fashoda on the 11th of December.

About four months after the battle, Lord Cromer visited Omdurman, and on the 5th of January 1899 delivered an address to the assembled cheikhs and notables which gave general satisfaction, more especially that part which contained an assurance that the Sacred Law would be respected.¹ There was of course no question of the extension of the limit of the jurisdiction of the Mixed Tribunals to the Sudan.

The Agreement laying down the principles intended to govern the future administration of the country was signed at Cairo between the Government of the Khedive and Her Majesty's Government on the 19th of January, and is of sufficient interest to be given *in extenso*—

“Whereas certain provinces in the Sudan which were in rebellion against the authority of the Khedive have now been reconquered by the joint military and financial efforts of Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the Khedive;

“And whereas it has become necessary to decide upon a system for the administration of and for the making of laws for the said reconquered provinces under which due allowance may be made for the back-

¹ On the 24th of December 1900 another address was delivered by Lord Cromer at Khartum, pointing out that this pledge has been redeemed, and enumerating the benefits which the country has received under existing arrangements.

ward and unsettled conditions of large portions thereof and for the varying requirements of different localities ;

“ And whereas it is desired to give effect to the claims which have accrued to Her Britannic Majesty's Government by right of conquest to share in the present settlement and future working and development of the said system and legislation ;

“ And whereas it is conceived that, for many purposes, Wady Halfa and Suakin may be most effectively administered in conjunction with the reconquered provinces to which they are respectively adjacent :—

“ Now it is hereby agreed and declared by and between the undersigned, duly authorised for that purpose, as follows:—

“ I. The word ‘ Sudan ’ in this agreement means all the territories south of the 22nd parallel of latitude which have never been evacuated by the Egyptian troops since the year 1882, or which, having before the late rebellion in the Sudan been administered by the Government of His Highness the Khedive, were temporarily lost to Egypt and have been reconquered by Her Majesty's Government and the Egyptian Government acting in concert, or which may hereafter be reconquered by the two Governments acting in concert.

“ II. The British and Egyptian flags shall be used together both on land and water throughout the Sudan, except in the town of Suakin, in which locality the Egyptian flag alone shall be used.

“ III. The supreme military and civil command in the Sudan shall be vested in one officer termed the Governor-General of the Sudan. He shall be appointed by Khedivial decree with the consent of Her Britannic

Majesty's Government, and shall be removed only by Khedivial decree with the consent of Her Britannic Majesty's Government.

"IV. Laws, as also orders and regulations with the full force of law, for the good government of the Sudan, and for the regulating, holding, disposal, and devolution of property of every kind therein situate, may from time to time be made, altered, or abrogated by proclamation of the Governor-General. Such laws, orders, and regulations may apply to the whole or to any named part of the Soudan, and may either explicitly or by necessary implication alter or abrogate any existing law or regulation. All such proclamations shall be forthwith notified to the Britannic Agent in Cairo and to the President of the Council of Ministers of His Highness the Khedive.

"V. No Egyptian law, decree, or Ministerial *arrêté* or other enactment hereafter to be made or promulgated shall apply to the Sudan or any part thereof save in so far as the same shall be applied by proclamation of the Governor-General in the manner hereinbefore provided.

"VI. In the definition by proclamation of the conditions under which Europeans of whatever nationality shall be at liberty to trade with or reside in the Sudan or to hold property within its limits, no special privileges shall be accorded to the subjects of any one or more Power.

"VII. Import duties on entering the Sudan shall not be payable on goods coming from Egyptian territory. Such duties may, however, be levied on goods coming from elsewhere than Egyptian territory; but in the

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case of goods entering the Sudan at Suakin or any other port on the Red Sea littoral they shall not exceed the corresponding duties for the time being leviable on goods entering Egypt from abroad. Duties may be levied on goods leaving the Sudan at such rates as may from time to time be prescribed by proclamation.

“VIII. The jurisdiction of the Mixed Tribunals shall not extend nor be recognised for any purpose whatsoever in any part of the Sudan except in the town of Suakin.

“IX. Until and save so far as it shall be otherwise determined by proclamation, the Sudan, with the exception of the town of Suakin, shall be and remain under martial law.

“X. No Consuls, Vice-Consuls, or Consular Agents shall be accredited in respect of, nor allowed to reside in, the Sudan without the previous consent of Her Britannic Majesty's Government.

“XI. The importation of slaves into the Sudan, as also their exportation, is absolutely prohibited. Provision shall be made by proclamation for the enforcement of this regulation.

“XII. It is agreed between the Governments that special attention shall be paid to the enforcement of the Brussels Act of July 2, 1890, in respect to the import, sale, and manufacture of firearms and their munitions, and distilled or spirituous liquors.

“Done in Cairo, January 19, 1899.

“BOUTROS GHALI.

“CROMER.”

On the same day on which this Agreement was signed a Khedivial decree appointed the Sirdar Governor-General of the Sudan. A subsequent Agreement of the 10th of July between the same contracting parties abrogated the provisions of the original Agreement so far as they referred to the exceptions made in regard to Suakin.

In the meantime negotiations had taken place between France and this country regulating their several spheres of influence in Central Africa, which resulted in an Agreement signed at London on the 21st of March 1899. It is beyond the purpose of this work to notice at length the effect of this instrument, but it may be briefly referred to as one which, while it obtained due recognition of the Anglo-Egyptian claims to the whole of the Nile Valley, conceded to France vast territories, completing the union of her African Empire. This concession was gracefully acknowledged by M. Delcassé in his speech in the French Chambers on the 24th of November 1899.

CHAPTER VII

AFTER OMDURMAN

The habilitation of the Egyptian soldier—Egyptian v. Sudani—Operations of 1899—Omdobrikat—Death of the Khalifa—Capture of Osman Digna—The Egyptian army—Cost of the campaigns—Waters of the Sudan—Facilities for getting there.

BEFORE proceeding to the operations which closed the events of the campaign, a few minutes may not unprofitably be devoted to the consideration of the relative merits of the native forces taking part in the recovery of the Sudan.

In the preceding chapter has been briefly noticed the improvement in the Egyptian soldier as shewn in his first unaided victory against the Derwishes in 1887 till the year 1891. From the period of repose which succeeded the battle of Afafit till the commencement of the new campaign and throughout its continuance, the shouts of the barrack-yard—or rather the drill-ground—ceased not to be heard in Egypt. A striking feature of the British occupation and one which has done the military authorities so much

credit—as admitted even by not too friendly critics—has been the transformation of the Egyptian fellah into a soldier of an approved type. The fellah is essentially good-tempered and docile, and the change that has been gradually wrought in him has proved, not for the first time in history, that under proper leadership an unwarlike race may be taught self-reliance, and trained not only to undertake the safe keeping of its own frontier but even, in given circumstances, to aid largely in the recovery of the barrier-land of its country. Drill, which was easily learned, was found to be not distasteful to the Egyptian fellah under British officers, and already in the earlier days it had become necessary to check the tendency towards treating it as a joke and a pastime when drill hours were over. Early in the spring of 1898, not long after the 17th Egyptian battalion had been raised, drilled and sent to the front, the writer happened to witness as a guest at Abbassieh the parades of a new battalion in process of formation by Captain (now Major) H. Matchett, Connaught Rangers, attached to the Egyptian service, at present Commandant of the Egyptian Military School. The troops consisted of six companies of the 18th battalion, about 750 strong, and

there were besides 700 more recruits drilling at the same time to fill up gaps in other battalions. The Egyptians of the large towns are not as a rule fine men. Those from the provinces are generally gifted with admirable *physique* as were those at Abbassieh assembled on the occasion referred to. Well set up, well equipped and booted, the men looked already pictures of what young soldiers ought to be. In any estimate of their powers of assimilation it would be necessary to place to their credit the fact that only three and a half months ago they were nearly all running about bare-footed, and wore nothing but their Galabiehs (blue cotton blouses). Of these three and a half months one was Ramadan, during which everything was made as easy for them as possible. A good meal at 4 A.M. and another after sunset—these were the orders of the day, and the men were always, or nearly always, exempted from afternoon drill. The question of the fighting fitness of modern Egyptian soldiers, who look so well on parade, was already answered before Omdurman, and the reply was that the steadiness of well-led and well-trained Egyptian troops under fire was all that could be desired. As regards Omdurman, it would be a mistake to call this battle a Sudanese

victory. Taking the infantry alone, out of the sixteen native battalions only six were Sudanese, the remaining ten being Egyptian, though it is true that of the four battalions forming Colonel Macdonald's distinguished brigade there were three Sudanese against one Egyptian.

After a short experience the Egyptian knows that he is well off with the colours and that he gets good food and regular pay. The once wailing mothers, who had made day hideous on the occasion of the departure of the local conscripts, generally live to see their sons come back fattened and with enlarged ideas, and no one complains of them except perhaps the mudir of the village, who finds them less tolerant than they ought to be of the filth in which they had been brought up and in which their souls had once delighted. The pay of the Egyptian soldier is usually 30 piastres a month; the Sudani receives from 40 to 45 piastres. The service of the latter is for life; that of an Egyptian for six years in the army, five in the police, and four in the reserve. A percentage of married men is borne on the strength of a Sudanese regiment. A wife draws pay and rations, and there are houses for the wives in what are called Haramet lines. These wives are looked after by the regimental

authorities. In praise of these ladies it must be mentioned that they also distinguished themselves at Omdurman by following their husbands as far as possible under fire with water that was not always grudged to a fallen foe. This impromptu benevolence was not of course unnatural, in view of the fact that so many foemen were near relations, perhaps brothers or brothers-in-law of Derwish prisoners lately drafted into Sudanese battalions. It will not be forgotten that it matters little to a Sudani on which side he is fighting. Of course he fights magnificently. Fighting is a part of his nature but, good fellow as he is, he is not always to be trusted in the field when his blood is heated. One story out of several may be mentioned. It is related that at Omdurman Colonel Macdonald was obliged to ride in front of his Sudanese men and knock up their rifles to make them cease firing. The question, of course, arises whether after all these men, a great part of whom had only recently formed part of the Anglo-Egyptian service, knew the bugle calls. Many English officers have now learned to place reliance upon the men of the Egyptian battalions, regarding them as better soldiers than the fiery Sudanese. The latter are not easily held back, and being

indifferent Muhammadans drink an intoxicating palm-wine known as *merissa* and also *buza* made from *dhurra* (maize).¹

It is probable that towards the Egyptians the dislike of the Sudanese (who consort so gladly with the British soldiers and call themselves black Englishmen) will never be entirely eradicated, but it is only natural that it should have been toned down since the two native races have stood together on many a well-foughten field. In *physique* it is impossible to imagine a greater contrast than that which exists between the Egyptian and the Sudani. The latter is usually very thin and "weedy" about the legs, where the calves are generally missing. He often soars to such heights that it is difficult to forecast where he will end, which is sometimes not till he measures 7 feet. He has the same beautiful teeth as the Egyptian, but deterioration sets in earlier. The Sudani is of more delicate constitution than the Egyptian, and if sent to hospital does not readily come out again. The probability is that you may trust a Sudani as you

¹ Some travellers have asserted that a liquor known as *umbulbul* (mother of nightingales, so called because it makes the drunkard sing) is a further variety. The writer has not been able to ascertain whether this drink is really anything but *merissa* under another name.

would trust a dog or a child—at least till the child knows something. The slight mutiny of the Sudanese early in 1900, which had no connection with the departure of Lord Kitchener, is alone a proof that these troops will require careful handling.

To return to the completion of the military operations. Although the question was practically decided at Omdurman, the dangers of Mahdiism were not entirely passed while the Khalifa was still at large.

In September 1898 a force composed mainly of the 16th Egyptian battalion, the Arab Kassala Regulars commanded by British officers, some camel corps and Irregulars—the whole under the command of Major Parsons—had left Kassala and crossed the Atbara. On the 22nd of the month this force defeated the Derwish garrison outside the walls of Gedaref. Ahmad Fedil, cousin of the Khalifa, fared badly in attempting a rescue and on the 26th of December was again defeated with great loss at the Rosaires cataracts by Colonel D. F. Lewis, commanding the 10th Sudanese and a body of Irregulars. The remainder of Ahmad Fedil's troops surrendered about a fortnight later.

In August 1899, in consequence of news received of communication existing between the Derwishes and the Menai Degheim Arabs, it was determined to arrest Muhammad Cherif, who with two sons of the Mahdi had been allowed to reside under supervision at Shukaba. The village was surrounded on the 27th by Egyptian troops. Among the killed were Muhammad Cherif and two sons of the Mahdi. This operation is believed to have prevented an intended Mahdiist rising on the Blue Nile. At Abu Aadel, thirty miles west of Abba Island, Sir Reginald Wingate attacked and defeated a force under Ahmad Fedil on the 22nd of November. Ahmad Fedil again escaped. Finally, on the 24th of November 1899, Sir R. Wingate attacked the Derwishes under the Khalifa at Omdobrikat in South Kordofan, upwards of eighty miles from the river, where the Khalifa and two of his brothers, Ahmad Fedil, and another son of the Mahdi were among the killed. Wingate Pacha could not speak too highly of the excellent behaviour of the troops and of their endurance. Between 4 A.M. on the 21st and 5 A.M. on the 24th of November they had marched sixty miles, and immediately afterward the second decisive battle was fought. At 5.15 A.M. on the last-mentioned day the Derwishes

commenced the attack. The whole Egyptian line advanced and swept through the Derwish position for upwards of two miles till the camp was reached. The mounted troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Mahon pursued and captured most of the fugitives. The extraordinary thing was the small number of the killed and wounded on the Anglo-Egyptian side in these two engagements, and scarcely less remarkable was the enormous number of prisoners taken, the greater part of whom surrendered of their own free will. The force was back at Omdurman on the 29th of November. After the action at Omdobrikat the Sudan was declared open. In the following month Sir R. Wingate was gazetted as Sirdar and Governor-General of the Sudan, in succession to Lord Kitchener.

Yet one stumbling-block remained in the person of the ubiquitous Osman Digna. He too ceased to be a terror. Major Burges and the Mamour Muhammad Ali left Suakin respectively on the 8th and 16th of January 1900, and reaching the southern spur of the Warriiba range about forty miles west of Khor Barak and ninety miles southwest of Suakin, found Osman Digna, who offered no resistance. He was secured and sent to Rosetta to be interned with other Derwish prisoners.

Now peace in the Sudan : this imperfect sketch of the military operations is closed.

Before passing to other subjects it may be convenient to note the composition of the Egyptian army as it exists.

Some slight reductions, chiefly in the Camel Corps, have taken place since the beginning of the year, but the following figures show of what the army was composed a very few months ago:—

- 9 Squadrons of Cavalry.
- 1 Battery of Horse Artillery.
- 4 Batteries of Field Artillery.
- 4 Companies of Garrison Artillery.
- 4 Companies of Camel Corps.
- 18 Battalions of Infantry, of which 7 are Sudanese.

There are at present about 127 British officers serving in the Egyptian army.¹

An Egyptian soldier's rations are 250 dirhems (27½ ozs., that is, 2 loaves) of bread daily or ¼ an oke (22 ozs., that is, 2 biscuits) of biscuit; 35 dirhems (3.85 ozs.) of meat daily, except Tuesdays and Fridays. Every ten days are issued 20 dirhems of beans, 20 dirhems of lentils, the same amount of rice, 6 dirhems of butter, 5 of salt, 5 of onions, 45 dirhems of other vegetables, 5 of

¹ See Appendix V.

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soap, 45 dirhems of coal, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ of oil when required.¹

From this it would appear that the Egyptian troops are not subjected to starvation.

The bill for the military operations in the Sudan must here be noticed. It was a long account, but considering the equivalent the money can scarcely be grudged.

The cost of the campaign from the spring of 1896, when it was decided to move forward from Wady Halfa to Dongola, up to the end of 1898 was about £E.2,354,354 including the railway, telegraphs, gunboats, and general military expenditure.

At the commencement of 1900² special grants were made outside the Budget for the following expenditure incurred in 1899 :—

Reconstruction of Khartum	£E.27,500
Equipment of police, &c.	8,000
Telegraph construction	13,500
Completion of Sudan railway, including the Atbara bridge contracted for delivery in forty-two days by an American firm . . .	340,000
Total	£389,000

This expenditure is £E.52,000 in excess of the estimates, chiefly by reason of the extra sums

¹ A dirhem is 48.15 grains (Troy), 9 dirhems are about equal to 1 oz. An oke is 400 dirhems, that is, 2.19 pints or 2.75 lbs.

² Official Report for 1899.

which had to be spent on railway construction. It is however a matter of congratulation that taking the ordinary and extraordinary accounts together the net result is not more than £E.22,000 worse than the estimate. This sum will, for the time being, be considered a debt due by the Government of the Sudan to the Egyptian Government. The following quotation from the Report of Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General relates to the present year:—

"Turning to the Estimates for 1900, it is perhaps unnecessary that I should give the detail. The following statement will suffice:—

Revenue	£E.158,000
Expenditure	292,000
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Deficit to be charged to the Egyptian Government	£134,000

"In addition to this, an extraordinary grant of £E.15,000 has been made for the construction of bridges south of the Atbara.

"The total charge on the Egyptian Treasury during the current year will be:—

Civil deficit	£E.134,000 ¹
Special grant (charged to the special reserve fund)	15,000
Military charge	281,000
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Total	£430,000"

¹ The contribution for next year (1901) from Egyptian funds is estimated at a larger amount, but owing to a considerable reduction in the military charge the figures nearly balance. See Appendix V.

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The main lines of the administration under which the Sudan is governed were laid down in the Agreement of the 19th of January 1899, previously given. The important question of financial control was treated outside the Agreement. As it is probable that for some years to come the general expenses of the Sudan will constitute a charge on the Egyptian Treasury, the Egyptian Financial Department will, at least for the present, exercise some degree of control over Sudanese finance.

Mr. Harman, Financial Secretary to the Government of the Sudan, concludes his Report for 1899 as follows :—

“The conclusion at which I venture to arrive is that, while certain further capital outlay on the Sudan may be desirable, or indeed necessary, the expenses of [civil] government, apart from the railway, will, at no distant date, be covered by the revenue. The deficit is not so large as it appears, as the Customs receipts taken at Port Said and Alexandria on foreign goods going into and from the Sudan are at present retained by the Egyptian Government. This item will grow as population and trade increase.”

During the past year many of the difficult questions of the Sudan were taken in hand, such as the land taxes, the sale of alcoholic

liquors other than native palm-wine, and the ownership of land, while others have still to be considered. The Ordinance affecting ownership of land has been so far as possible framed with a view to prevent speculation, all cultivable land, whether cultivated or not, being liable to taxation.

An Ordinance of the Governor-General, laying down the conditions under which prospecting for metals, minerals, and precious stones will be permitted in the Sudan, was published in the *Sudan Gazette* of the 2nd January 1900. It is based on the Mining Regulations in force in India. A Memorandum explanatory of the Ordinance has recently been issued. Lord Cromer has given a summary of the main provisions of this Ordinance in the following words :—

“There are to be two descriptions of licences, viz., general licences and exclusive licences.

“Articles 4 and 5 of the Ordinance lay down in detail the modes of application in each case. The most important of these is that the locality, in respect to which the application is made, should be clearly specified.

“Licences of both descriptions will be granted for one year. They are not transferable.

“The main difference between the two classes of

licence is sufficiently indicated by their nomenclature. The one does, and the other does not, confer any exclusive rights. The exclusive licence will, of course, only be granted over a relatively small tract of country. If, upon the expiration of the first year, the licensee holding an exclusive licence shall prove to the satisfaction of the Governor-General that he has completed a reasonable amount of prospecting, and has in all respects complied with the Ordinance and the conditions of his licence, he will be entitled, upon payment of the prescribed fees, to receive a new licence in respect of any such part of the land comprised in his former licence as he may select, provided that the land so selected does not exceed one-half of the land comprised in the former licence, and lies in one block.

"The Ordinance contemplates that the holder of an exclusive prospecting licence shall, by agreement with the Governor-General, be given the right, upon the expiration of his licence, to apply for and obtain the grant of a mining lease. The conditions under which mining leases will be granted are laid down in the Memorandum to which allusion has been already made.

"Every prospecting licence, whether general or exclusive, confers and imposes on the licensee the following rights, privileges, conditions, and liabilities.

"The licensee may remove and dispose of all metals, &c., subject to the payment of the prescribed royalty.

"He must give notice to the Governor-General of any find which he may have made.

"He must permit the Governor-General, or any public officer authorised by the Governor-General, at

all reasonable times to inspect any work which may have been executed, or is in progress, under the licence.

“Every prospecting licence will be liable to be summarily revoked upon breach by the licensee, his agents, servants, workmen, or labourers, of any of its conditions or of any of the provisions of the Ordinance.

“The Courts of Justice established in the Soudan are the only Courts which have jurisdiction to determine any question or dispute between the Government and the licensee with reference to a prospecting licence.”

An Ordinance for the preservation of wild animals and birds in the Sudan has also been passed, framed on the general lines adopted in the game regulations now in force in Uganda and the East African Protectorate. Lord Cromer expresses a hope that great care will be taken to enforce the provisions of this Ordinance, as “otherwise it may safely be predicted that the continued existence of the numerous species of animals and birds with which the Sudan now abounds will be seriously threatened.” An Arms Ordinance was also promulgated in May 1899, prohibiting the carrying of arms in the Sudan without a licence. This is issued for one year, and costs for a revolver P. T. 25 and for every other firearm P. T. 50.

It is earnestly to be desired that these measures may be effectual. Those who have known Egypt long regret that the measures devised for the protection of bird-life in that country have not been more successful. Every spring the birds come north towards Cairo—the hoopoe and the bee-eater, not to mention others from the upper reaches of the Nile—and their arrival is timed almost to a day, but they come in ever-decreasing numbers. This may be observed particularly by those who frequent the long road of seven miles, for the most part bordered by acacias, which runs between Cairo and the Pyramids. “Civilisation” is fast doing away with the happy bird-life of Egypt, and the Anglo-Egyptian Government would no doubt be held entirely responsible were it not for the dark shadow of the Capitulations.

As regards education it is necessary once more to quote Lord Cromer:—

“Two primary schools, of the type commonly established by the Egyptian Government, exist at Wady Halfa and Suakin. With these exceptions, the only education at present obtainable in the Soudan is supplied by the Kuttabs (village schools), which in all Moslem countries are usually attached to the mosques. . . . The masters are ignorant; the teaching is almost

exclusively confined to reading and reciting the Koran, without explanation or comment of any kind. The schools appear to be often in a very insanitary condition; measures are about to be taken with a view to their improvement.

"In the first place, it is intended to start one or two Government Kuttabs in each of the large towns. In the second place, the best method for providing a proper system of inspection is under consideration. In the third place, it will, it is hoped, be possible to introduce a system of grants-in-aid to such schools as may be found to satisfy the requirements of the inspectors.

"For the rest, steps are being taken to establish a primary school at Omdurman. At a later period similar schools will be opened in other towns; these schools will resemble the primary schools of the Egyptian Government. The normal age of the pupils will be from ten to fifteen years. The teaching will be in Arabic, and will consist chiefly of reading, writing, arithmetic, and the Arabic language. English will be taught in the higher classes."

On the subject of higher education it is not denied that the Government has assumed heavy responsibility. Lord Kitchener's scheme for a Gordon College, a fitting memorial to the previous Governor of the Sudan, is a happy proof that in the hour of triumph the more important duties in the recovered territory were not forgotten. The building at Khartum is now probably com-

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pleted, as it had already risen to the first floor in the early part of the year. Generous contributions have been received from Great Britain. The boys will be trained there for Government service and for such careers as may be open to them.

A few observations may be acceptable illustrating the fertilising sources of this huge mass of territory, which promises soon to become better known; but first a few words about the arrangements for its administration.

After the battle of Omdurman the Sudan was divided for administrative purposes into five first-class and three second-class provinces or *mudi-riehs*. The former comprised the provinces of Dongola, Berber, Khartum, Sennar, and Kassala; the latter the districts of Fashoda, Suakin, and Wady Halfa.

Each *mudirieh* is again subdivided into so many districts or *mamurieh*s, the old subdivisions having been, as far as possible, followed. It is, however, probable that as the country to the south is brought under control some further changes in the distribution and boundaries of these districts may be hereafter necessitated. The administration of each province has been placed under an English Mudir, or Governor,

with two English Inspectors to assist him. Each mamurieh is under the charge of a Mamur, or Sub-Governor, who has in most cases been selected from among the native officers of the Egyptian army. The subordinate staff is entirely composed of natives.¹

Eight kilom. up-stream from Omdurman, the Blue and White Niles unite, forming the low tongue of land on which Khartum was built. Just below the junction lies the Island of Tuti. Behind this stretches the fertile country of Ghesireh (the island), formerly known as Ghesireh es-Sennar, the greater portion of which enjoys the richest alluvial deposit. The difference in colour in the two rivers is very marked, the azure of the Blue Nile asserting itself for some way down-stream when the rivers are not in flood. The Blue Nile, which like the White Nile has its lake, begins to rise in June, and the red fertilising flood brought from the Abyssinian volcanic plateaux mingled with the brown sweepings of the leaf-mould of the forests makes its presence distinctly perceptible at Halfa about the middle of July. The difference in level between flood-time and quiescence is from six to seven metres, and in the first quarter of the year the river is

¹ See Sir William Garstin's Report on the Sudan, 1899 [C. 9332].

reduced to a succession of deep pools connected by very shallow reaches. During this season even native boats can with difficulty navigate the distance between Sennar and Khartum. In the latter half of September the Blue Nile begins to fall rapidly, but the flood of the White Nile continues to be felt for about a month longer. At 343 kilom. from Khartum the Sobat runs into the White Nile on the right bank. This river is not navigable during the dry season. It begins to rise about the 1st of May, and the reddish brown flood reaches Fashoda during the first week of the month. Above Sobat the Bahr-el-Zaref and the White Nile begin to rise about the end of the month, the effect not being felt at Halfa till about the 8th of June. By this time Isis has unmistakably shed her tears on the tomb of Osiris. The Sobat begins to fall early in December at Nassr, 290 kilom. above the junction. The rivers of the Bahr-el-Ghazal rise slightly in May, but the main floods do not take place till July and August. The muddy Atbara flood begins shortly after the rise of the Blue Nile, and attains its maximum in August.

These dates vary and can, of course, only be given approximately.

Happily the Sudan is not entirely dependent

on its rivers for water. There are between As-suan and Dongola a few rainy days in winter and occasionally tropical rains in summer. At Suakin there are occasionally heavy rains. There is a rainy season between June and September on the Upper Blue Nile and in the Atbara country, and of course torrential rains in Abyssinia, but rain is not always confined to a particular season. At Khartum rain cannot be depended on, but generally there and in the Bayuda desert a fortnight's rain in the year is registered. Further south, heavy rains are common during particular seasons.

Should this book attract the attention of hesitating tourists who, tired not only of the fleshpots of Egypt but also of the Egyptian Nile, may wish to visit the new Sudan, and be deterred from the fear of hardships or inconvenience, let them not lay down the volume till they have read the conclusion. For climatic reasons the country generally can never become a popular resort, but the rush of travellers south and further south may eventually bring it about that one narrow strip of the Hinterland will be almost as familiar to the tourist as Egypt is now. Then the bloom on the peach will have been worn off by handling.

Shortly after the declaration of the opening of the Sudan, which, as stated, immediately followed the battle of Omdobrikat, that monument of hard work and expedition known as the S.M.R. (Sudan Military Railway) became available for travellers between Wady Halfa and Halfeyeh. Trips at stated intervals were duly arranged from Cairo to Khartum and back. The writer has no knowledge of any plans that may be made for the present winter, but he can speak in kindly terms of the weekly service which existed during the first few months of this year. Thirteen hundred and thirty-two miles and eight days, which included two nights at hotels *en route*, lay before the few mildly adventurous travellers who after the hour of sundown assembled on the platform of the Cairo station to take the Sudan express. The train with a sleeping car attached carried the pioneer tourists during the night to Luxor: then a change of carriages and Assuan, where the adventurers slept, was reached in about twenty-five hours from Cairo. Next morning a train took the party to Shellal, and thus 530 miles of the journey were got through. A Government steamer, available for tourists, conveyed the travellers in three days to Wady Halfa, or rather its suburb Taufikieh, and another stretch

of 226 miles was accounted for. As in the case of the ordinary Nile steamers, sufficient time was allowed for stoppages on the way for the purpose of seeing places of interest on the banks of the river, the chief attraction being of course the incomparable temples of Abu Simbel visited, as it happened, on the return journey. An hotel had been hastily constructed at Taufikieh by an enterprising Greek in a "garden," in the sense of a *jardin des plantes*, i.e. a *ménagerie*, where a young lion credited with about fourteen months—who won all hearts—a lioness, hyænas, and a panther, and also fierce ostriches—who won no hearts at all—were successfully segregated and housed.

Thank God! you are now really in the wilds. A modest *train de luxe*, chiefly if not entirely arranged on the premises, comprising a sleeping-car, bathrooms, and a dining-car, carries you off next morning to Halfeyeh (the rail-head opposite Khartum), covering a distance of 576 miles in about thirty hours. The train is accommodating in the extreme, and stops during meals and occasionally at other times when a sandstorm makes it difficult for the engine-driver to proceed. At Abu Hamed you rejoin the Nile, and from this point the journey is one of absorbing

interest, though there are too many graveyards and too many outlying Derwish skeletons and dry bones to make the landscape cheerful. The mirage of water and palm-trees, sometimes coming up to within about half a mile of the line of rail, and occasionally appearing on both sides at the same time, has hitherto kept your attention occupied. Then the fifth cataract, Berber, and the Atbara bridge, famous if only because it took so little time to build, and later on the once important town of Shendy, now a mass of ruins. On the other side of the Nile lies Metemmeh. These towns, or rather their sites, are separated by a few miles of stream, and by daylight Metemmeh is to be recognised by the solitary grove of date-palms which stand out in the flat plain. The town of Metemmeh is described as being now practically a deserted ruin, only a small remnant of the once important tribe of Jaalin Arabs who inhabited it having survived the massacre of 1897 instigated by the Derwish Emir Mahmoud.¹

Then the sixth cataract^{*} is reached, and finally

¹ See Sir William Garstin's Report on the Sudan, 1899 [C. 9332], referred to above. In any case on the outward journey the light will generally be too faint when the train arrives at Shendy to enable the traveller to distinguish the palm-trees which mark the site of Metemmeh.

Halfeyeh, where your luggage is taken out of the train by a band of prisoners, the only railway porters, and failing an hotel, is deposited next to its proprietors on board a Government steamer which takes you to the White Nile and moors you at Omdurman. By this time, if not before, the inexperienced tourist will have realised the fact that the train does not run into Khartum, which happens to lie on the other side of the Blue Nile. For this geographical accident the S.M.R. cannot be held responsible. The fast-rising Government House at Khartum, embracing the ruins of that where Gordon met his death, is the first thing that greets your eye on arriving at the point of departure on the river at Halfeyeh. The second is the basement or first floor of the Gordon College in course of erection. Old travellers to the Sudan, who remember the little-windowed two-storied Government House existing before the Derwish days, will look with wonder at the palatial building which is taking its place. Nebulous notions about an hotel at Khartum were quickly dispelled last winter, and no one was the worse for being entertained on board an old Government steamer or rather on two boats moored together off Omdurman. One of these was of course reserved for ladies, and

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the other for the less gentle sex. Here the cheeriest of young British officers who have taken part in the late campaign look after you, and a programme for each day is arranged for the tourists. One day is, of course, devoted to the battlefield, not yet strewn with bogus cartridge-cases, and others to a visit to Khartum and to trips up and down the White and the Blue Nile. After three or four days, you go back again, unless you prefer to wait another week for the return journey. In January the heat is not oppressive, the thermometer rarely rising above 100 (Fahrenheit) in the shade at midday. In March the shade temperature on the river is generally 111 at the same hour.¹

Omdurman, whose eastern front faces the Nile, is an enormous town for these parts, measuring about 9 kilom. in length and 2 kilom. in breadth. There are spacious streets peopled by a varied collection of African types of all shades of colour, well calculated to gladden the heart of the ethnologist, and there are shops to a large extent kept by Greeks. The Khalifa's house, close by the ruins of the Mahdi's tomb, is substantially built and has now been turned to useful purposes.

¹ The temperature in March is probably given a few degrees too high, as it was registered below not above deck.

The smaller streets are narrow, and the prevalence of cesspools makes the place generally unhealthy. Khartum, on the other hand, has, among other advantages, the benefit of the prevailing north wind. The Derwishes spared the gardens and the fruit-trees, though they completely destroyed the town. Soon a new capital will have arisen, built on more favourable hygienic principles than that which has ceased to be.

What arrangements, if any, the S.M.R. had made with the powers of Nature for the benefit of the tourists of last season is not generally known, but everything seemed to be "turned on" to a nicety to suit the curiosity of those who had not been to these regions before. Mirage, crocodiles, and "a devil" (a sand-spout, so graphically described in Mr. Bennett Burleigh's "Sirdar and Khalifa") appeared when wanted, the latter shewing itself, of course, on the opposite side of the Nile to that on which the tourists happened to be located.

Arrangements, not expressly for the benefit of tourists, are also made for the quenching of the Sudan thirst in the shape of soda-water costing only a piastre (2½d.) a bottle. The water is taken from the Blue Nile and then filtered, and is pleasant to the taste. Travellers are re-

commended a little self-denial in the use of this beverage, as thirst in this particular region, as elsewhere in the tropics, is fed by quenching. The tourist will no doubt have brought with him from Cairo a sufficiency of flannel underclothing and a cummerbund, also a sun-helmet provided with the broadest possible brim, particularly if he means to visit the battle-field. Then let him return as he came, bringing with him, if he is so disposed, a few things purchased at the arsenal at Omdurman, where he will probably still find a large variety of Derwish curiosities, including casques and some shirts of mail that look as if they might have been worn by Crusaders. A break, not merely of a night, in the return journey of 1332 miles is recommended, and it should take place at Assuan, where the traveller will have the opportunity of visiting the new Barrage works.

As for Fashoda, 444 miles south of Khartum by water,—that dreary peninsula lying in the midst of a swamp where fever and mosquitos make life almost unendurable,—let the traveller with no call of duty thank Heaven that a passage to that ill-favoured spot, even in a sudd-cutting Government steamer, is not part of the programme, and let him digest the following

observations taken from Sir William Garstin's Report before he dreams of undertaking on his own responsibility an adventurous journey further south or east :—

“A very serious factor, and one which must greatly retard speedy progress in the Soudan, is the extreme unhealthiness of the climate of the southern provinces. The whole area lying south of the 15th parallel of latitude becomes during the autumn and winter months a hotbed for malarial fever of a virulent type. This is due, on the one side, to the decaying and rank vegetation of the Blue Nile forests, and, on the other, to the pestilential swamps of the White Nile. Europeans and Egyptians quickly succumb to the effects of this malaria; and even the blacks do not escape, especially if transported from their own country.

“At Fashoda 280 men, out of a total strength of 317, were suffering from fever in March last (1899), or in one of the driest months of the year, when the river was almost at its lowest. At Nassar, the military post on the Saubat River, the fever in November and December was reported to be equally bad. On the Blue Nile the troops in the months of October and November suffered heavily. At Karkauj, during the latter month, 308 men were laid up out of a total of 390; and at Sennaar and Abu-Haraz things were nearly as bad. The troopers of the Egyptian cavalry when returning to Omdurman from the Blue Nile were, almost to a man, incapacitated by fever, their horses being

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brought down the river by the men of the Soudanese infantry battalions.¹ The Blue Nile fever would appear to be of a very severe type, and is said to resemble enteric fever in many of its symptoms. Even in the spring malaria is prevalent, only disappearing in the early summer months."

¹ "Out of twenty-four British officers employed in the operations on the Blue Nile last autumn (1898) only five escaped fever, one of those attacked dying from its effects."

THE RISE AND FALL OF MAHDIISM

A CHRONOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS

I.—TO THE ESCAPE OF SLATIN PACHA ¹

1840.—In or about this year, near the island of Argo in Dongola, is born to Abdullah, a boat-builder and fiki or religious teacher, and his wife Amina a son, Muhammad Ahmad.

1881.—Appearance of a new leader begins to be accepted, identified by an increasing number with the expected Mahdi. Concourse of people to Abba, south of Khartum on the White Nile, to which island Muhammad Ahmad's family had some time previously removed.

Rauf Pacha, Governor-General at Khartum, sends for Muhammad Ahmad. On his refusal to present himself, Rauf at the end of July sends two companies of troops to Abba Island with instructions that the Mahdi is to be brought to

¹ The more important events and the dates on which they occurred are printed in italics. In cases where Derwish losses are mentioned the numbers are of course more or less conjectural. The losses on the Anglo-Egyptian side are not invariably taken from official sources, and it is believed they are as exact as possible.

[1881] Khartum by force. Expedition almost entirely annihilated. Mahdi subsequently moves to Gebel Gedir and fixes his abode at the foot of the mountain. Rashid Bey, Mudir of Fashoda, advances without instructions against Derwishea. His force cut to pieces on the 9th of December.

1882.—During this year and the beginning of next the Provinces of Kordofan and Senaar, and also Fashoda and Kassala, succumb to the Mahdi's influence. In October news is received at Cairo that the troops sent against the Mahdists by Abdel-Kader Pacha, Governor-General of the Sudan, have been cut off. Application for Egyptian reinforcements.

1883.—Early in January, Egyptian garrison of Bara, north of El Obeid, surrenders to Abderahman Wad en-Nijumi.

19th of January.—Surrender of El Obeid to the Mahdi after a long siege.

In March Hicks Pacha, accompanied by nine other European officers, arrives at Khartum at the head of an Egyptian force of at least 10,000 men, mostly rabble from Arabi's disbanded army. This distinguished retired Indian officer and his companions had entered the Egyptian service on their own responsibility. Hicks joined the

Commander-in-Chief of the Sudan army as chief of the staff.

29th of April.—Hicks with a portion of his force defeats the Mahdiists at Marabieh, where Ahmad el-Makashef is killed. During this year Sinkat and Tokar, garrisoned by Egyptians, are surrounded by Mahdiists under the command of the Mahdi's Emir Osman Digna, formerly a slave-dealer at Suakin, and cut off from communication.

9th of September.—Hicks leaves Khartum for El Obeid, then the Mahdi's headquarters.

4th of November.—Egyptian troops under Mahmud Pacha Taher defeated by Osman Digna's forces near Suakin, in attempting to relieve Tokar. Egyptian loss estimated at 148 killed out of 550 men. British Consul Moncrieff accompanying the expedition loses his life.

5th of November.—*Hicks Pacha's Egyptian army destroyed* by forces under Wad En-Nijumi at Shekan (Kordofan) before El Obeid is reached. Hicks killed. Great plunder; camels, horses, guns, and ammunition lost in great quantities.

23rd of December.—*Slatin Bey* (now Sir Rudolf Slatin Pacha, K.C.M.G., C.B.) *compelled to surrender Dara in Darfur*, of which province he had been appointed Governor-General in [1883]

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[1885] and eight other officers of cavalry killed. Lord St. Vincent subsequently succumbs to his wounds. Besides the killed, 85 of the British force are wounded. Enemy's loss estimated at 1200 killed and wounded.

19th of January.—Defeat of Mahdists at Gubat or Abu Kru near Metemmeh. Sir H. Stewart receives wounds which cause his death in the following month. Command devolves at once upon Sir Charles Wilson. Concentration of the Desert Column at Metemmeh.

21st of January.—Action about Metemmeh.

24th of January.—Sir C. Wilson starts up the river for Khartum with two steamers, and a small British force.

26th of January. — *Fall of Khartum*, the final attack of the Derwishes being led by Nijumi, previously mentioned as the destroyer of Hicks' army at Shekan in 1883. *Death of Gordon*. Two days subsequently Sir C. Wilson, advancing up the Nile, fired upon within half a mile of Khartum. His steamer wrecked by an Arab pilot. Party rescued by Lord Charles Beresford and Sub-Lieutenant (now Commander) Colin Keppel under cannonade from Derwish batteries. Return of steamers down the Nile.

10th of February.—*Defeat of Mahdists at Kirbeken* by the Nile Column. General Earle included among the British losses. Subsequently recall of British forces from the Nile. After these events Great Britain awakens to the necessity of taking strong measures in order to crush Osman Digna. Suakin expedition decided on. Four regiments ordered from India to join British troops. Offer of Australian battalion accepted. Total force not less than 13,000 men.

12th of March.—Sir Gerald Graham, in charge of the expedition, arrives at Suakin.

20th of March.—Action at Hasheen, N.W. of Suakin, in which the Brigade of Guards and the Bengal Lancers are represented. Of Graham's force 1 British officer, 1 native officer of the Indian contingent, 4 non-commissioned officers and privates and 12 sowars of the Indian contingent are killed and several wounded. Derwish losses are estimated at 4000, the calculation being subsequently reduced to 3000. Suakin-Berber railway begun during this month.

22nd of March.—Graham commences operations towards Tamaai. On the same day *Sir John M'Neil*, engaged in forming a zeriba near Suakin, with the assistance of a large force of British and Indian troops, *attacked by Derwishes*, [1885]

[1885] *who are repulsed* not without difficulty. Sir G. Graham's loss 550 in killed, wounded and missing. Enemy's loss estimated at 1400.

29th of March.—Arrival at Suakin of the Australian contingent under Colonel Richardson—563 men and 28 officers.

3rd of April.—Advance of Graham, accompanied by Australians, towards Tamaai. Refusal of Osman to accept an open battle. Enemy's camp burned. Expedition wholly unsuccessful as regards its main issue. General collapse of British policy. Suakin-Berber railway abandoned and troops recalled. During the month of April Colonel (now Lieut.-General Sir) Francis Grenfell succeeds Sir Evelyn Wood as Sirdar.

In June the new British Government takes office, accepting the decision of the previous Administration as to the evacuation of the Sudan. Withdrawal of troops from Dongola. Triumph of the Mahdists complete. Only the town of Suakin still held by the Egyptians. The boundary on the Nile fixed at Wady Halfa, which becomes the gate of Egypt.

22nd of June.—Death of the Mahdi, some say from typhus fever, others from poison. Father Joseph Ohrwalder (who remained in captivity from 1882 to 1892) believes the death to have

occurred as the necessary consequence of a dissolute life in later years.¹ Abdullah bin Muhammad, belonging to a section of the Baggara—cattle-owning—tribe of S.W. Darfur, succeeds in preventing an insurrection in favour of the Mahdi's son by secretly collecting all the arms in Khartum. His succession as Khalifa is confirmed to Abdullah by a special revelation vouchsafed to himself.

30th of July.—*Egyptian garrison at Kassala surrenders to the Derwishes.*

23rd of September.—Defeat of Osman Digna by Ras Abula's Abyssinian force at Kufit. False report of Osman's death. Subsequently first Mahdiist invasion of Egypt.

30th of December.—*Battle of Ginnis, where the Derwishes are repulsed by British and Egyptian force commanded by Lieut.-General Sir Frederick Stephenson. Mahdiist loss estimated at about 1000 men; that of the Anglo-Egyptian army at 41 in killed and wounded.*

1886.—Nijumi leaves Omdurman for Berber, after the breaking up of the council of Emirs on the 15th of May, having burned his house and vowed that he would not return to Omdurman till he had conquered Egypt. Towards the [1886]

¹ "Ten Years' Captivity in the Mahdi's Camp."

[1886] end of this year the position of the garrison at Wady Halfa, now entirely Egyptian, is more seriously threatened than before. Derwishes occupy Sarra, a fort situated about thirty miles south of the frontier, from which they do not cease to harass the garrison.

1887. 27th of April.—*Action at Sarra.* Part of the Wady Halfa garrison, led by Colonel (now Sir Herbert) Chermiside, surprises and drives back the Mahdists. *First unaided victory of Egyptian troops.* Derwishes afterwards re-establish themselves at this fort.

1888. 17th of January.—*Battle of Handub near Suakin.* Capture of Mahdist zeriba by Colonel Kitchener's troops, with a loss of 32 in killed and wounded. Escape of Osman. Subsequently, unsuccessful siege of Suakin by the Mahdists.

20th of December.—*Battle of Gemaizeh near Suakin,* where Mahdists are defeated. 2000 Sudanese and about the same number of Egyptian troops, together with 750 British troops, fight under the command of Sir Francis Grenfell. In rough numbers 500 of the enemy, including 4 important emirs, are killed and the rest driven off. Loss of Sir F. Grenfell's force is 50 in killed and wounded. Suakin saved.

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1888-89. Terrible famine in the Sudan: outbreak of cannibalism, a custom generally prevalent in the district of Niam-Niam.

1889. Second invasion of Egypt by Mahdiists under Nijumi.

2nd of July.—Detachment of Nijumi's army defeated at Argin in Egyptian territory by a flying column from the garrison at Wady Halfa under Colonel Wodehouse, Governor of the Military Frontier Province. Egyptian casualties are 72 in killed and wounded.

3rd of August.—Battle of Toski, where Sir F. Grenfell's troops, joining Colonel Wodehouse's column, defeat Nijumi's forces. Nijumi, his chief officers, and nearly half his force lose their lives. Loss of Anglo-Egyptian force 165 in killed and wounded. Discouragement of the Mahdiists: safety of the frontier secured.

1891. *19th of February.—Capture of Osman Digna's camp at Afafit, near Tokar, by a force entirely composed of Egyptians under Colonel Holled-Smith, Governor of Suakin, and a few British officers. Egyptian loss about 58 in killed and wounded. Osman again escapes. The reconquest of the Tokar district, which after the withdrawal of the troops in 1885 had become and remained Mahdiist, follows naturally upon the [1891]*

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[1891] battle of Afafit. Decisive blow to Derwish influence around Suakin. Safety of the Red Sea littoral secured.

1892.—In April of this year Colonel Herbert Kitchener succeeds Sir F. Grenfell as Sirdar.

29th of October.—Murder of Emin Pacha at Kenena.

1893. 21st of December.—Battle of Agordat, where Italians under Colonel Arimondi defeat Derwishes. Italian loss in killed and wounded estimated at 227 men.

1894. 17th of July.—*Kassala taken from the Derwishes by the Italians* under Colonel Baratieri. Italian loss in killed and wounded about 68 men.

1895. 16th of March.—Rudolf Slatin arrives at Assuan, having made good his escape after twelve and a half years spent in captivity.

II.—TO THE DEATH OF THE KHALIFA AND THE CAPTURE OF OSMAN DIGNA¹

1896.—On the 12th of March Sir Herbert Kitchener receives orders to advance up the Nile. In April the Italians under Colonel

¹ The Khedive's Sudan medal for the campaign of 1896-98 has seven clasps—Firkeh, el-Hafir, the Nile 1897-98, Abu Hamed, the Athara, Khartum (Omdurman) and Gedaref. The six operations thus localised are, for convenience of reference, printed in capital letters. Other chief events are printed in italics as previously.

Stevani win two battles (Mount Mokram and Tukruf), their total losses in killed and wounded amounting to about 400.

1st of May.—*Cavalry action at Ak-hasheh near Firket, where Derwishes are defeated.* Subsequently renewed trouble caused by Osman Digna near Suakin, from which district he is made to retire. Renewal of Nile campaign.

30th of May.—Arrival of Indian troops at Suakin.

7TH OF JUNE.—BATTLE OF FIRKEH, where Mahdiists are defeated by Egyptian and Sudanese troops under the command of the Sirdar. At this battle the Derwishes are reported to have lost 2000 in killed, wounded and prisoners out of a force estimated at 3000 men; losses of Sir Herbert Kitchener's forces in killed and wounded are estimated at 108. Within twenty-four hours of the battle Colonel Burn-Murdoch had occupied Suarda, previously referred to as being thirty miles south of the frontier. The general advance of the Anglo-Egyptian force commences early in September.

19TH OF SEPTEMBER.—OPERATIONS AT EL-HAFIR on the left bank of the Nile just above the third cataract. This position is chosen by the enemy to make a stand instead of Kerman. [1896]

[1896] Half-an-hour after fire had been opened on them Commander Colville arrives with three gunboats and overpowers the Derwish musketry. After 9 A.M. Major Parsons places guns into position on an island in midstream, with the result that the Derwish steamer lying outside the fort is sunk. In less than two hours Commander Colville carries his vessels past the walls and steams towards Dongola. During the night El-Hafir is evacuated. The enemy with their leader, who was severely wounded, had betaken themselves to the desert, leaving large supplies of food and ammunition. Road now open to the key of the Sudan, abandoned in 1885.

23rd of September.—*Dongola*, at length recovered from the Mahdiists, is *entered by Sir Herbert Kitchener's forces*, whose loss does not exceed 10 in killed and wounded. The net result of the operations of 1896 is to restore the whole province of Dongola to Egypt, and about 450 miles of the Nile valley, Egyptian authority being now established at Merawi, just below the fourth cataract.

9th of December.—Departure of Indian troops from Suakin.

1897.—Commencement of railway from Wady

Halfa across the desert to Abu Hamed and thence to Berber and the Atbara. This line, constructed at an average rate of more than a mile a day, is carried out under the superintendence of Lieut. Girouard, D.S.O., and other Royal Engineer officers in command of the Egyptian Army Railway Corps.

7TH OF AUGUST.—ABU HAMED IS TAKEN BY ASSAULT by a mixed force under General Hunter, whose losses consist of 27 killed (including Major Sidney and Lieut. Fitzclarence) and 61 wounded or, according to another account, 23 killed and 64 wounded. After this the Derwish force falls back on Shendy and Metemmeh. The latter place, till recently the chief town of Jaalin tribes—the first to revolt and the first to return to allegiance—had been seized by a large Derwish force under the Emir Mahmud, who slaughtered 2000 of the inhabitants and enslaved a larger number.

7th of September.—Berber, reoccupied by the “friendlies” (on the 31st of August), is entered by the Egyptian troops. For some time after this the Derwishes maintain a purely defensive attitude. Steps taken to reopen the desert route to Suakin.

16th of October.—Metemmeh reconnoitred by Nile flotilla. Evidence obtained of the presence of the Emir Mahmud and a strong force. [1897]

[1897] 25th of December.—*Kassala handed over to the Anglo-Egyptian authorities.*

1898. 27th of March.—Shendy surprised by force under Colonel Hickman. Flight of Derwishes.

8TH OF APRIL.—BATTLE OF THE ATBARA, WHERE THE MAHDIISTS ARE DEFEATED by forces under the command of the Sirdar. The Emir Mahmud, the Khalifa's first lieutenant, captured. The Derwish losses have been estimated at about 3000 men killed and as many prisoners, the rest of the force being scattered. Osman Digna still at large. The forces under Sir Herbert Kitchener reckoned at about 13,000 men. The total casualties are 81 killed and 493 wounded. Out of this number the British brigade alone loses 24 killed and 104 wounded.

21st of August.—Occupation of Metemmeh.

2ND OF SEPTEMBER.—BATTLE OF OMDURMAN. Forces under the Sirdar about 23,000 men. The Derwish force estimated at about 40,000. The Derwish losses at this battle are estimated at 11,000 killed, 16,000 wounded, and 4000 taken prisoners; total 31,000 men. The Khalifa's son, the Emir Ya'qub, among the slain. Khalifa escapes. The total loss of the Anglo-Egyptian force according to the first report is 387.

Among British troops are 2 officers (Captain Caldecott and Lieutenant Grenfell) killed, 7 other officers wounded; 23 non-commissioned officers and men killed and 99 wounded. Of the Egyptian army, 5 British officers and 1 non-commissioned officer are reported to have been wounded, 1 native officer killed and 8 wounded, 20 non-commissioned officers and men killed, 221 wounded. This estimate is believed to have been considerably below the mark. The British casualties are more likely to have reached 200 and the Egyptian 300; total 500, particularly if slight wounds are taken into account.¹

During the same month the Sirdar visits Fashoda and Sobat, and plants the Anglo-Egyptian flags.

22ND OF SEPTEMBER.—OCCUPATION OF GEDAREF (more properly Suk Abu Sin) between the Atbara and the Blue Nile, by Major (now Colonel Sir Charles) Parsons' mixed force of 1300 men, which starting from Kassala crosses the Atbara and defeats the strong Derwish garrison outside the walls. Ahmad Fedil goes to the rescue and is repulsed. Ahmad Fedil's force, estimated at 3000, diminished by 700 men killed. Major Parsons' casualties amount to 37 men killed, 4 native officers and 53 men wounded. [1898]

¹ "With Kitchener to Khartum," by the late G. W. Steevens.

[1898] 28th of September.—Second action at Gedaref, when our losses are 5 killed and 13 wounded. At least 500 Derwishes killed.

26th of December.—A remnant of the Derwish force under Ahmad Fedil, who escapes, defeated at the Nile cataracts near Rosaires, about 420 miles S.E. of Khartum, by Colonel D. F. Lewis. 500 Derwishes killed and more than 1500 made prisoners. On the side of the Anglo-Egyptians 124 were wounded, including Major Fergusson and 6 Egyptian officers, and 27 non-commissioned officers and men are killed.

1899. 8th of January.—Surrender to Lieut. Strickland of remainder of Ahmad Fedil's force, estimated at 2000 men.

On the 27th of August Shukaba is surrounded by Egyptian troops. Force meets with warm fire, and is charged by the Derwishes. Muhammad Cherif and two of the Mahdi's sons among the killed. Village burned and fifty-five prisoners taken.

22nd of November.—*Battle of Abu Aadel*, 30 miles west of Abba Island. Sir Reginald Wingate with Egyptian force attacks Ahmad Fedil, whose army is estimated at about 2400 men, and routs them.

24th of November.—*Battle of Omdobrikat*,

seven miles S.E. of Gedil, a hill in South Kordofan. Khalifa, Ahmad Fedil, two brothers of the Khalifa and a son of the Mahdi and several principal Emirs are among the killed; 29 important Emirs, including the Cheikh El-Din (wounded), the Khalifa's eldest son and intended successor are among the prisoners. Osman Digna retires as soon as fighting begins and effects his escape. In these two engagements the Anglo-Egyptian loss amounts to 4 killed and 27 wounded. The total loss of the Derwishes is estimated at 1000 killed and wounded, and 9000 prisoners, including women and children.

17th of December.—El-Obeid occupied by Egyptian troops. The town is found to be deserted.

23rd of December.—Sir Reginald Wingate Pacha gazetted as fourth Sirdar and Governor-General of the Sudan.

1900. *January*.—*Capture of Osman Digna* [1900] in the Tokar district.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

NAPOLEON AS A MUSSULMAN

THE fact that Napoleon really appeared in this character in Egypt is worth recalling as a curiosity—one of the littlenesses of a great man. The under-mentioned writers are responsible for the statement.

The Cheikh Abdil Rahman el-Gabarti, who was born in Cairo in 1756 and died there in 1825. He was one of the Ulema of the Mosque El-Azhar and wrote a journal during the French occupation, of which a translation by Alexandre Cardin appeared in Paris in 1838.

Mou' Allem Nicolas el-Turki, a Syrian (Greek) Catholic who lived between 1763 and 1828. He was in the service of the Emir Béchir, the Druse Chief, and remained three years in Egypt. He wrote a précis which is included in the French translation of Abdil Rahman's Journal, and a separate work of his was also translated into French and published in Paris in 1839 under the title of *L'Expédition Française en Egypte*.

Amédée Ryme, author of *L'Egypte Française*, published in Paris in 1848, gives at least one proclamation issued by Napoleon in this sense, and Mr. Paton's "History of the Egyptian Revolution from the period of the Mameluks to the death of Muhammad Ali,"

London, 1863 (vol. i pp. 109-111), contains the same Proclamation in English slightly abbreviated.

In accordance with the rule of obtaining information from original sources, which has been followed as far as possible in this work, the subjoined extracts from Napoleon's Proclamations have been translated from Abdil Rahman el-Gabarti's *Annals*, printed in Arabic and published in four volumes by the Bulaq Press in Cairo :—

"I worship Allah most High better than the Mame-luks, and I venerate His Prophet and the great Qoran. . . . The French are sincere Muslims. This is proved by the following facts. They entered the great city of Rome and destroyed the throne of the Pope who always instigated the Christians to fight the Muhammadans; then they proceeded to Malta and expelled the Knights who considered it a divine mission to carry on a crusade against Muslims."

Elsewhere :—

"Teach your people that Allah has decreed since Eternity the destruction of the enemies of El-Islam and the breaking up of crosses at my hands."

This extract is preceded by a note in which the author affirms that no one was deluded by the statements which the Proclamation contained.

Mou' Allem Nicolas El-Turki writes in the same sense in respect of Napoleon's Proclamations.

Again an extract from Abdil Rahman el-Gabarti :—

"In this fleet there are a great number of Muscovite Franks who hate all those who believe in one God, and detest all who worship Allah and believe in the Prophet

of Allah. These people in their infidelity have Three Gods and believe that Allah most High is the Third of the Three (*sic*), whereas Allah has no partner. They will soon learn that the Three Gods will not avail them; the multitude of Deities gives no strength. Allah alone gives strength and victories to those who believe in Him. . . . He decreed from Eternity to give me this Province."

An Arab dress and turban were duly ordered to keep up the illusion, but when Napoleon finally appeared in them he was greeted with ridicule.

It will be remembered that he frankly admitted this escapade to Sir George Cockburn on board the *Northumberland* while on his way to St. Helena, arguing that a mosque was quite as respectable as a cathedral.

APPENDIX II

THE POLICY OF PIN-PRICKING

Extracted from "Le Matin" of the 8th of November 1898

"QUEL SONT LES RESPONSABLES ?

"IL est important, à propos de Fachoda, de ne pas s'égarer sur une fausse piste. L'évacuation est une affaire désagréable, c'est entendu ; d'autres vont plus loin et déclarent que c'est une humiliation. L'appréciation apparaît exagérée. Mais, que l'on adopte l'un ou l'autre terme, ne nous laissons pas aller, suivant un penchant naturel, à rendre les Anglais seuls responsables de ce qui arrive.

"Sans doute, ils auraient pu se montrer plus conciliants. Tenant le bon bout, ils n'ont pas voulu l'être. Peut-être aurions-nous agi de même à leur place.

"Ce n'est pas, du reste, le point intéressant. Ce qui l'est, par contre, c'est de rechercher qui nous a engagés dans cette impasse, quel est l'esprit inventif et aventureux qui a lancé Marchand en avant sans peser les conséquences de son initiative, sans se demander à quoi elle pouvait aboutir.

"Il semble bien qu'elle se rattache à une ligne de conduite adoptée au quai d'Orsay depuis que les Anglais sont en Egypte. Ils nous avaient offert d'y aller avec eux ; nous avons refusé, et, depuis lors, nous avons

inauguré ce qu'on peut appeler la 'politique des niches à l'Angleterre,' politique sans but précis, continuée au hasard des événements, qui devait fatalement mal tourner.

"Nous nous trouvons maintenant devant des gens que de continuelles piqûres d'épingle ont fini par exaspérer. Ayant fait le compte de leurs navires et de leurs ressources, se considérant comme les plus forts, ils ont tout l'air décidés à en finir et à liquider en une fois tout un arriéré de petites tracasseries, à profiter même de l'occasion — car ils sont pratiques — pour exiger, maintenant qu'ils ont pris leur parti, beaucoup plus qu'ils n'auraient jamais osé espérer jadis.

"Et, comme la politique étrangère est chez nous entre les mains de ministres que le pays ne contrôle guère, nous sommes tout surpris de cette situation, que nous ne soupçonnions pas."

APPENDIX III

NOTE ON THE COPTIC CULT AND LANGUAGE

If it be true that the traveller fresh from the West occasionally looks askance at the Native Christians of Egypt as something between Christians and Muham-madans—perhaps with the faults of either—it must be admitted that he has generally found his mind already made up for him by European writers, and that his reliance on them is not likely to be shaken by the information which he receives from his Muslim drago-man on the spot.

Are not both sections of the community (1) subject to rigorous fasts; (2) do they not both veil their women and shut them up; (3) hang ostrich eggs in their places of worship; and otherwise coalesce as regards (4) poly-gamy and (5) the right of circumcision?¹ (6) Are not Coptic monasteries up the Nile swarming with wives and children? Are the monks of these religious houses the representatives of the anchorites of Egypt known in the old days of Christianity and long before?

¹ "They practise polygamy and the rite of circumcision," &c. ("Egypt as it is," by Mr. J. C. McCoan, 1877). A French guide-book, which the writer has not seen since the date of his first visit to Egypt twenty-one years ago, contained the information that marriage for a month could be obtained among the Copts. He is not aware whether this statement has been continued in subsequent editions.

The Copts have their faults—perhaps the faults of a people oppressed for centuries—and their rigorous fasts too. Their vegetarian Lent, without meat or fish except on Palm Sunday and the Annunciation on which days fish is conceded, is more severe than anything that is known among the laity in the West of to-day and generally lasts fifty-five days. But, except as regards the physical fast after supper on Maundy Thursday till an hour before sunset on Good Friday, this Lent contrasts favourably with the thirty days' Ramadân of a Muslim as usually kept among the working-classes.¹ There are also three other long fasts among the Copts, that before the Festival of the Apostles, which continues thirty or even forty-five days; the Advent Fast, lasting thirty days; that before one of the Festivals of the Blessed Virgin, and several minor ones.² These fasts are now kept by only a few people, but marriage is forbidden while they continue. The restrictions above mentioned do not include the Wednesdays and Fridays in each week which are more or less observed. In any case fasting is looked upon more lightly in the East where the principal meal is generally taken in the evening. The Chaldean priest who occasionally celebrates the Divine Office about sunset does not seem to suffer as a European would suffer from his long fast from the previous midnight,³ and the Muslim boy looks

¹ Of course this remark is inapplicable to those classes or individuals who turn night into day.

² Cf. *Archæological Journal*, Sept. 1897.

³ The statement that the Chaldean priest does physically fast from midnight till after he has celebrated the evening Mass will perhaps be received with blank incredulity by some Western readers in these luxurious days, but it has not been retained without verifica-

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forward with a feeling akin to pleasure to the day when his father chooses to tell him that he may begin to keep Ramadân. This is a new departure in his life, and "it makes a man of him."

The Coptic women veil in Cairo. In the Sudan, except when the Mahdi's influence was at its height, Muhammadan women used not to veil and do not do so now. Among the Arabs proper and in some of the agricultural districts of Egypt the custom is not known.¹ In the large towns and principal centres where veiling is general it would manifestly have been impossible, if only as a protection from insult, for Native Christian women living in the midst of a Muhammadan population to expose their features and go about as freely as their Western sisters. Under cover of the security engendered by the British occupation there is now a movement afoot on the part of Coptic women to dispense with the veil, but it is doubtful how far it will be successful.

It is true the Copts hang ostrich eggs in their churches, the egg being regarded as an emblem of the resurrection, and probably they have done so from

tion by high Chaldean authorities—both lay and cleric. This service, however, at present takes place only on three occasions in the year—the eves of Christmas, the Epiphany, and Easter. The same rule obtains among the Syrian Catholics (as distinct from Maronites) who follow the United Nestorian rite, but in Egypt at least the sunset Mass among this community has been discontinued since 1898 as it was practically unfrequented. This footnote does not exhaust the list of Eastern Christian communities among which the Divine Office is sometimes celebrated about sunset. Among Copts the evening Koddass has long since been given up.

¹ "Command the women who believe . . . to cover their *bosoms* with a veil" (Sur. xxiv. 31). But see also Sur. xxxiii. 55 and 59.

the earliest days of Christianity, but they do not recognise polygamy—the plurality of wives. Divorce is obtained with difficulty, and then only for adultery, the innocent party alone being allowed to re-marry.

As regards circumcision, rightly named by Gibbon a tender subject, such a thing *quæ* rite is unknown among the Copts of Egypt, though most of them, particularly in agricultural districts, are circumcised for hygienic reasons. The custom was that of the Copts' ancestors, judging from the figures portrayed on the walls of tombs and temples up the Nile, and was known in Egypt before the time of Muhammad, of Moses, and possibly of Menes. The flint instruments by which circumcision and other surgical operations are believed to have been performed are not unknown to the modern Egyptologist. According to "the father of history"¹ the Colchians who originally came from Egypt, the Egyptians proper, and the Ethiopians are the only nations of the world among whom, from time immemorial, this practice was known. The Phœnicians and the Syrians, according to the same writer, acknowledged that they learned the custom from the Egyptians, but as regards the latter race and the Ethiopians it is impossible to say which learned it from the other.

The last point, the monastic life, presented at one time the element of a difficulty to the writer, who, on the occasion of an interview with the highest authority in the Egyptian Church, suggested that it would be at least unusual in the West to find married men in monasteries. A smile played over the

¹ Herodotus, L. ii. c. 104.

venerable features of the dark-turbaned Patriarch, who explained that there are now only seven Coptic monasteries properly so-called in Egypt, the other buildings, once monasteries and still retaining the title, being occupied by married secular priests. It is perhaps unnecessary to remind the reader that among the Copts, whether Monophysite or Uniate, the old rule common to Greeks, Maronites, Syrian Catholics, Chaldeans and Armenians still prevails. Marriage is not allowed after ordination, but ordination does not necessitate separation.

It is understood that a dispensatory power resides with the Patriarch of Alexandria in regard to the re-marriage of a widower priest, but the re-married priest could in no case officiate at the altar again. It has not been brought to the notice of the writer that widowers ever apply for a dispensation in these circumstances. The higher clergy are, as formerly, chosen from the monastic orders, the Patriarch being elected from among the monks of a monastery in the Natron Valley, which may be reached in two or three days from Cairo by those who are prepared for a slight amount of "roughing."¹ Yet one instance is known towards the close of the second century of the ordination and immediate consecration as Patriarch of a married layman. This was Demetrius who flourished in the time of Origen.

Baptism among the Copts is administered by triple immersion; the confirmation chrism, as elsewhere in the East, immediately succeeds baptism, and the little

¹ A traveller should of course take with him a letter from the Patriarch, a tent and, if possible, a Christian dragoman.

babe is then and there communicated with a drop of wine, the priest first dipping his finger into the chalice and then putting it into the child's mouth under the tongue. Such at least was the procedure in the only case of an infant's communion which the writer has witnessed. The Copts still make use of raisins, though the prohibition against the growth of the grape has long ceased. These raisins are pressed by the priest, or under his supervision, and left to ferment. After fermentation the wine is bottled and kept for use.

Considerable difficulty has presented itself to many of our fellow-countrymen attending the Coptic Kod-dass (sacring or hallowing). This word, derived from the Arabic root "to make holy," referred originally to the Canon and particularly to the consecration of the elements. It is now applied to the whole service, including the lessons, collects, &c. The *pain béni* in French churches, which is eaten sitting or standing during High Mass, or taken home to be distributed among those unable to attend, has not infrequently been mistaken by the less travelled of our compatriots for the Blessed Sacrament. So too in Coptic Churches. But in the Coptic rite the difficulty is more acute as the Sacramental bread is leavened and is the same as that which is finally offered to the congregation unconsecrated. It is made in the shape of little round loaves stamped with the Coptic crosses, around which are the words ⲁⲩⲓⲟϥ ⲟⲩⲉⲱϥ: ⲁⲩⲓⲟϥ ⲓϥϭⲓⲣⲟϥ: ⲁⲩⲓⲟϥ ⲁⲑⲁⲛⲁⲧⲟϥ. The loaf is known as the Korbān, and represents the Oblation. Several of these loaves are brought up to the altar by the deacon,

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and the priest chooses that or those which he desires to consecrate. Others not so chosen are simply blessed by the priest after communion, broken by him and distributed to the congregation. This is what remains of the *Agánnē* or feast of love of the early Christians still retained in Egypt and, as has been noticed, continued also in France. The whole loaf given to the tourist in Coptic Churches, in return for which bakhshish is generally expected, is the loaf as it comes from the bakery attached to the church, neither consecrated or blessed.¹

In the Coptic rite the Kiss of Peace is also retained. The words of the ritual are "Greet ye one another with a holy kiss." Each member of the congregation touches his neighbour's hand and carries his own to his lips. This will be recognised as a very common form of salutation in the East. In some other Eastern rites, *e.g.* the Nestorian Catholic, both hands are touched and both are carried to the lips.

¹ Many writers have been misled. "The sacramental bread is generally administered every Sunday in the Coptic Church, one cake being given to every one who desires it" ("Christianity in Egypt," published in 1883 for the use of the Association for the furtherance of Christianity in that country). If by "the sacramental bread" is meant the consecrated Eucharist, it may be mentioned that in no case is a whole or unbroken loaf given to a communicant, and that to say the least it is doubtful whether any Coptic priest would give communion to one whom he did not know. As regards administration "every Sunday," the fact is that among the Monophysites the Koidass is celebrated and communion given not only every Sunday but also on two or three week-days throughout the year as well as on festivals, and by the Uniates every day. Miss Edward's statement ("A Thousand Miles up the Nile," ed. 1891) that "the deacon gives blessed cakes to the poor and the Bishop gives bread to the best-dressed Copts" would be unintelligible to a member of the Coptic community.

The Sacred Elements are received standing, as among the Armenians and other Eastern Churches. A spoon is generally used, but some diversity appears to exist in the form of administration. The women communicants come to a little door a few inches wide, constructed at a convenient height in the latticed screen which separates them from the men. The priest leaves the Haikl, communicates them, and the door in the screen is then closed. The male communicants, who are generally but not necessarily vested in surplices, return one after another till the Sacred Elements are entirely consumed except when the sick have to be communicated. In this case a sufficient portion is retained by the priest who proceeds to communicate the sick person in his or her home. There is no Reservation except among the Uniates who are only a fraction of the Coptic population.

For the benefit of the few who may be interested in Liturgiology it may be noticed that three Liturgies are used, those of St. Basil, St. Gregory, and St. Cyril, in each one of which such interpolations as may exist are of great antiquity. The last-named is an adaptation of the Liturgy called "of St. Mark." Among translations may be mentioned that in Latin by Renaudot in the last century, retranslated into English by Dr. Neale. Other versions taken from the original were published by the Rev. S. C. Malan, between 1872 and 1875, and a translation of the "Jacobite Liturgy," edited by Mr. Brightman, Pusey Librarian at Oxford, also deserves commendation.¹

¹ "Liturgies Eastern and Western," 1896.

As the first of the three Liturgies named is used on all occasions of the year except four it is unnecessary to refer to any other. It has been rendered separately into English by the late Lord Bute, and published with the Coptic texts of those parts which are said aloud.¹ This version, which shews the actual use of to-day and gives the portions recited by the laity, is convenient not only from the fact that it is portable, but also because it contains notes distinguishing the slight variations which exist between the "Orthodox" and the "Uniate" rite. Three languages are used during the service—Coptic, Arabic, and Greek. The Gospel is read in Coptic and immediately translated into Arabic. The Canon is said in Coptic and in Greek; the priest's part almost entirely in the old language of the Nile, with a Greek passage here and there which is translated into Coptic. The British tourist may be satisfied that, making due allowance for certain interpolations, the date of which must be determined by others than the writer, he has witnessed what is in its framework one of the earliest rites of Christianity, and that the

¹ "The Coptic Morning Service for the Lord's Day," by John, Marquis of Bute, 1882. It may be mentioned *en passant* that a work in English bearing the same title is printed at Luxor—a place which has an evil name for imitation—and is still sold (1900) up the Nile "to provide English-speaking travellers in Egypt with a means of following intelligently the . . . service of the native Christians." The author's copy tends to prove that this is nothing but a reproduction of Lord Bute's translation, but without the notes which distinguish the variations between the two rites. It is in fact misleading and, though printed by an orthodox Copt not unknown to the writer, contains, without explanation, the "Filioque" in the Creed and in the prayer of absolution the invocation of the fathers of Chalcedon by whom the Monophysites were condemned.

ancestors of the little boys with blue Coptic crosses tattooed on their arms, who howl for bakhshish before he gets out of church, and perhaps beat his donkey unmercifully the rest of the day, were Christians at a time when the inhabitants of his own little island were, for the most part, still sacrificing to idols. The tourist, however, will not always be favourably impressed by the demeanour of the congregation which, particularly in out-of-the-way districts, leaves much to be desired. This want of reverence is more particularly noticeable before the commencement of the Canon.

To the Uniates, who according to their own mission returns did not exceed 20,000 souls in 1898, of which number the diocese of Thebes alone claimed 13,000, is partly but not entirely due the resuscitation of the Coptic language. With them it is necessary for a candidate for ordination to be able to read Coptic; with the Monophysites the candidate is expected to be able to say the Liturgy or, at least, the Canon by heart. The old tongue is now taught in denominational schools and little boys may be heard up the Nile singing Coptic hymns which they have learned partially to understand. At Luxor the "Orthodox" school is divided into three sections—Arabic, English and Coptic.

The attempt to latinise the interior of the Churches among the Coptic Uniates, more or less successfully carried out among United Greeks and Armenians, and the introduction of some Western customs and the omission of others purely Eastern, may be held to be an impediment rather than a help to the apostles of unification. A cheap and tawdry wooden altar in the best style of carpenters' Renaissance seems, after all, a

poor substitute for the severe and simple Coptic altar standing within the Haikl. But the change is not without compensation. It enables the whole congregation to see what is taking place and removes the element of mystery general among Eastern rites. The introduction of the organ has, it must be admitted, a jarring effect, but some of the Copts like it.

The daily office of a Coptic priest, if reverently performed, seems specially designed by its extreme length to leave him no time for anything else. It is, however, not obligatory. The Uniates have had the common sense to curtail the priests' office, the recitation of which is binding, to a reasonable length or rather, among secular priests, the recitation of the whole office is spread over a week. Provision is also made by the latter body for a Low Mass which is said in half-an-hour, but with both sections the High Celebration of the Koddass, with its endless repetitions, lasts about two hours and a half. The Uniates have also largely decreased the number of fasting days among their own community.

According to the census of 1897 the disciples of the American Protestant missionary, whose appearance dates from 1854, are in excess of the Uniates. They have been estimated at about 30,000. With the former there is of course no question of the Coptic cult.

Religious toleration, so recently attained in the West, can scarcely be said to have found its way as yet to the Orient. The native proselytes of the mission of the United Presbyterian Church of North America were subjected to persecution from 1866 to 1870, at the hands of the orthodox Patriarch Demetrius the Second,

in the form of fines, stripes and incarceration. In the last-named year liberty was only secured by the energetic protests of the American and British Consuls.

The perpetuation of the old language of the Pharaohs under the guise of Coptic has been one of the most remarkable facts proved in an incredulous age. The writer, not being an accomplished Coptic scholar, is indebted to one who has attained that distinction for the greater part of the following observations.

Coptic is the direct descendant of the hieroglyphs. It is the same language in Greek instead of native characters. The hieroglyphs represent a language undoubtedly Semitic at base and one which probably owes its non-Semitic features to contact, on reaching Egypt, with some African idiom related to the Nuba or Galla languages of the Upper Nile.

Coptic was still in use in the ninth, but had ceased to be intelligible in Middle Egypt in the twelfth century. As a spoken dialect it lingered till the seventeenth century, the date of the death of the last old man who spoke it having been recorded in 1633. It is probable, however, that instances where it was still spoken might have been found in Upper Egypt much later. The reading of hieroglyphs benefited from the already existing and never wholly lost knowledge of Coptic. Many hieroglyphic groups were at once recognised as skeleton forms of familiar Coptic words.

The commencement of the knowledge of Coptic in Europe appears to date from the time of Kircher, who published his *Prodromus Coptus* in 1636.

APPENDIX IV

NOTE ON THE MOKAWKAS, THE "COPTIC" BETRAYER OF EGYPT

It rests with those who have adopted the story of the betrayal to the Arabs of the citadel of Bablûn, and indeed of the country generally, by Gibbon's "rich and noble Egyptian of the name of Mokawkas,"¹ to prove that the betrayer was in any true sense an Egyptian though addressed by Muhammad as "Prince of the Copts." In point of fact considerable historic doubts exist in regard to this personage—who appears to have combined the highest ecclesiastical with civil functions—indeed modern researches have fairly proved that no one bearing this name ever existed. The Arabs treated with Giorghis (George) son of Mennas (Mena) Parkabios, Eparch of Upper Egypt and Bablûn, and may have taken his Greek title *μεγαλυχης* (the illustrious)—مقوتس—for his name. Such at least is the modern account accepted till recently. Some late writers,²

¹ "Decline and Fall," chap. li. vol. vi.

² Cf. Prof. de Goeje's Memoir *De Mokawkis van Egypte* and Prof. Karabacek's article "Der Mokawkis von Ägypten" (the latter printed in the *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, vol. i. pp. 1-66), with Amélineau's "Fragments Coptes" in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1888, and the Introduction to Esteves Pereira's *Vida do Abba Samuel*, translated from the Ethiopian, Lisbon, 1894.

however, have more plausibly derived the title from the Coptic form of *καύχιος* (ΚΑΥΧΙΟΣ), which, suppressing the article (*π*), would proceed from *καυχιον*, the name of an old coin dating from the time of the Emperor Justinus. According to Amélineau, Kauchios merely meant "the man of the Kauchion," a name given by way of derision to the Director of the taxes, detested by Copts and Greeks alike. Admitting this origin, the Arabic designation is perfectly understood. Another suggested derivation of the word is from Mokawkis, meaning a kind of ring-dove said to have been the symbol of the Governor of Egypt under the Greeks, as the hawk was the symbol of the Pharaohs.

Gagnier¹ says of the Mokawkas:—"Il avoit été envoyé par l'Empereur Héraclius en qualité d'intendant sur les imposts. Il étoit Jacobite et pour cette raison il haïssoit les Grecs qui étoient Melkites, mais il n'osoit pas se déclarer ouvertement. . . . Il avoit arrêté les revenus de l'Egypte; c'est pourquoi il craignoit de tomber entre les mains d'Héraclius qui l'auroit fait mourir." Maqrizi attributes to him affiliation, speaking of him as the son of a Greek. In our own time, Kárbacek, perhaps following Ibn Khaldûn, has taken a different view, regarding him without sufficient reason as a Copt.

It is more difficult to ascertain what his real opinions were than his nationality. When treating with the Arabs he obtained the best terms for himself and the Copts, abjuring the Greeks in this world and in the next. Yet he is disclaimed and disavowed by

¹ *La vie de Mahomet—Traduite et compilée de l'Alcoran, &c., par M. Jean Gagnier, Amsterdam, 1732.*

Coptic authorities. Severus ibn El-Mukaffa, Jacobite bishop of Al-Ushmuniel, the historian of the Copts most accredited among themselves, says: "During the joint reign of Heraclius and Mokawkas so great were the persecutions inflicted on those who rejected the heretical (*sic*) Chalcedonian Council all over Egypt that countless numbers left the orthodox (Coptic) faith, some through torture, some through fear and intimidation, and some for vain honours. Even some bishops went astray."

Severus, whose work is called by Ersch and Grüber (*Allgemeine Encyclopädie*, Leipzig) *Die berühmteste Geschichte der alex: Patriarchen*, flourished, or, to borrow a word from Gibbon, withered under the 62nd Patriarchate, i.e. towards the end of the tenth century. The Greek bishop Eutychius wrote a little later. Eusebius Renaudot, whose *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum* (Paris, 1715) was chiefly founded on Severus, had, it appears, a poor opinion of the accuracy of this writer "in cujus jejuna exiliq̃ue narratione peccata multa sunt." The general public have had little opportunity of deciding this question for themselves. Severus has never been properly edited. Eutychius, on the other side, has been several times taken in hand, and a sumptuous edition of his Annals was published at Oxford in 1656 in Latin and Arabic.¹

It has been suggested that the story of the treachery

¹ It is understood that a complete edition of Severus is likely to appear one of these days in Paris. The extracts given in this Appendix are translated from an Arabic MS. in Cairo believed to be about 700 years old.

of the Copts in handing over the country to the Muslims is a fable invented by the degenerate Greco-Roman Byzantines to cover the loss of their fairest province. The same historian (Severus) asserts that for eight years before the Arab conquest "Heraclius paid regularly to the Muslims a capitation tax on all his soldiers till the Treasury was quite exhausted. Not being able to keep his engagements and to continue the payment of this tribute a large Muslim force under Amru ibn el-'Âsi invaded Egypt. The Rûm were defeated in three great battles. The fort of Bablûn was captured and the remnant of the great army fled to Alexandria which they also lost three years later." Severus represents the Mokawkas as being one of the bitterest persecutors of the Copts—"the enemy of the truth"—who so harried their venerated Patriarch Benjamin that he was obliged to take refuge in a remote monastery of the desert to save his life. This persecution seems to have continued for ten years. No one, of course, should assume that cruelties were confined to one particular side at a period when theological passions ran high. Those who recognise in history an early form of fiction may draw a moral from the difference which exists in this story of the loss of Egypt as believed by the Copts and that which has generally been received in the West.

Some writers have maintained that the betrayer became a Muslim after the conquest, though he had received a guarantee that he should be buried in the church of St. John at Alexandria. The best autho-

rities believe that he died a Christian. This at least is certain. The "Prince of the Copts" did not at first favour the new religion. Both Heraclius and the Mokawkas were addressed by the prophet before the conquest of Egypt as regards the duty incumbent upon them of submitting to his teaching. The latter of the two, with whom alone we are concerned, replied evasively, sending rich gifts, among others two Coptic maidens of noble extraction, Miriam and Shirin. The beauty of the former was conspicuous, and the sequel is briefly related in Gagnier's *Vie de Mahomet*. Hafsa discovered the secret and told Aiesha, with the result that the prophet separated himself from both for a whole month. This incident, or rather the indiscretion of the ladies, is briefly indicated in the Qoran (Sur. lxvi.).¹

The probability is that the Mokawkas was not a man of strict principle, and he was clearly not universally beloved. After rising to honours under Arab rule he is reported to have died from sucking a sugar-cane infected by a poisoned ring. One fact remains—the story of the betrayal of the citadel and country by an Egyptian has never been proved. George Parkabios was, as appears certain, the son of a Greek, as stated by Maqrizi, and was probably born in Egypt. Whether we accept the Greek or the Coptic version, it is suffi-

¹ It cannot be too often repeated that the prophet had passed a youth of extraordinary continence and—whatever opinion his followers may have advanced on his behalf—had never preferred any claim to impeccability. He died in A.D. 632, a few years before the invasion of Egypt. Ibrahim, the fruit of this temporary alliance, predeceased his father.

- 、 ciently evident that his dealings were of a personal character, initiated for his own safety and aggrandisement, and it is not extraordinary if he found a host of Jacobites who, from similar motives and from a dislike to the recently reimposed Greek yoke, were only too ready to act with him.

APPENDIX V

SOME PROSPECTIVE ARRANGEMENTS

WHILE these pages are passing through the press, the Report of the Financial Adviser to the Egyptian Government for 1901 has become available. Mr. Gorst's Budget contains, among other things, an increase to the Sanitary Department of £E.5800. The expenditure on prisons has been augmented by nearly £E.11,000, so as to put once and for all at the disposal of the Prisons Department the funds necessary for carrying out a sound prisons' system. It is hoped that this extra vote will do away with the necessity which exists of requiring prisoners, at least partially, to feed and clothe themselves—a practice only allowed because the very considerable sum necessary to put matters on a satisfactory footing was not forthcoming.

The Budget of the Slave Trade Department has been increased by £E.1200, to enable additional measures to be taken for the prevention of the slave trade.

An economy of £E.60,000 is shewn in the expenditure on the Egyptian army. This is due to the disbandment of two Egyptian battalions, and to the reduction of all the remaining battalions by two companies. The army is diminished by 26 British and 137 Egyptian officers and 5400 non-commissioned officers and men.

To complete the expenses of the Civil Administration

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of the Sudan the contribution has been increased from £E.134,000 to £E.194,000. Taking into consideration the saving in the military expenditure charged to the Sudan (£E.60,000) the total cost remains about the same as in 1900.

Proposals have been submitted by the Government to the *Caisse de la Dette* for the grant from the General Reserve Fund of a sum of £E.1,096,000 for extraordinary expenditure on useful and productive works, such as irrigation and drainage works, prisons, hospitals, schools, &c.

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APPENDIX V

SOME PROSPECTIVE ARRANGEMENTS

WHILE these pages are passing through the press, the Report of the Financial Adviser to the Egyptian Government for 1901 has become available. Mr. Gorst's Budget contains, among other things, an increase to the Sanitary Department of £E.5800. The expenditure on prisons has been augmented by nearly £E.11,000, so as to put once and for all at the disposal of the Prisons Department the funds necessary for carrying out a sound prisons' system. It is hoped that this extra vote will do away with the necessity which exists of requiring prisoners, at least partially, to feed and clothe themselves—a practice only allowed because the very considerable sum necessary to put matters on a satisfactory footing was not forthcoming.

The Budget of the Slave Trade Department has been increased by £E.1200, to enable additional measures to be taken for the prevention of the slave trade.

An economy of £E.60,000 is shewn in the expenditure on the Egyptian army. This is due to the disbandment of two Egyptian battalions, and to the reduction of all the remaining battalions by two companies. The army is diminished by 26 British and 137 Egyptian officers and 5400 non-commissioned officers and men.

To complete the expenses of the Civil Administration

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of the Sudan the contribution has been increased from £E.134,000 to £E.194,000. Taking into consideration the saving in the military expenditure charged to the Sudan (£E.60,000) the total cost remains about the same as in 1900.

Proposals have been submitted by the Government to the *Caisse de la Dette* for the grant from the General Reserve Fund of a sum of £E.1,096,000 for extraordinary expenditure on useful and productive works, such as irrigation and drainage works, prisons, hospitals, schools, &c.

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